

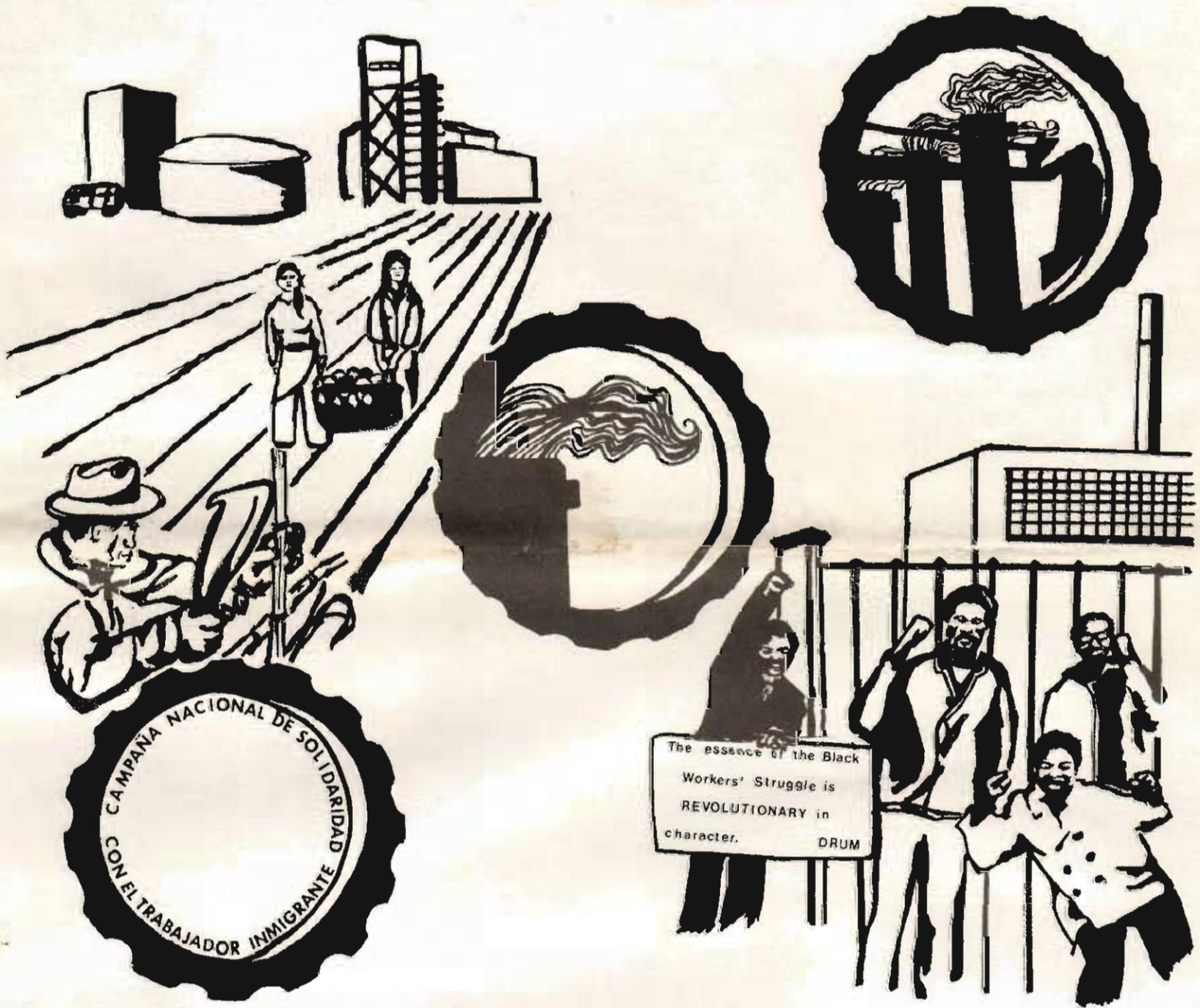
SEIZE THE TIME



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International Workers' Day 1975 • A Luta Continua!

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JUCHE!

"JUCHE MEANS HOLDING FAST TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLVING FOR ONESELF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION AND CONSTRUCTION IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS AT HOME." - - - KIM IL SUNG(DRK)

OSAWATOMIE is an important new publication from the Weather Underground Organization. The name OSAWATOMIE comes from the Battle of Osawatomie, Kansas (1856); here, John Brown and thirty other abolitionists, using guerrilla tactics, defeated a large armed force of slavery supporters who were trying to make Kansas a slave state. For leading this victory, a turning point in the fight against slavery, John Brown was named "Osawatomie" by his comrades.

The first issue of OSAWATOMIE (Spring 1975) contains two longer articles -- on racism in Boston, and on the roots of the present economic crisis in the U.S. -- and shorter articles on population control, revolutionary internationalism, Puerto Rican freedom fighters imprisoned in the U.S., U.S. history and the U.S. Bicentennial, the U.S. Government's defeat in Cambodia, and a review of a book Cuban Women Now.

The Weather Underground Organization intends to publish OSAWATOMIE four times a year. They want it to be distributed as widely as possible. They urge that comrades use it as an organizing tool, that we discuss the articles with people in our workplaces and communities.

We reprint here sections from the OSAWATOMIE article titled "The Battle of Boston: an investigation of ROAR."

Busing is not the issue in Boston. Of the 40% of all schoolchildren in the US who get to school by bus, only 2% are bused for purposes of integration. It's this busing that the racists call "forced busing" and oppose. As Amiri Baraka, Chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), puts it, "The whites are not attacking busing, they're attacking Blacks. The buses only bring the Blacks. It is racism that is dividing, not busing."

"Antibusing" has a political meaning which is not at all about whether busing is the best way to achieve decent education for most children. The all-white Boston School Committee, which for years has raised high the banner of "antibusing" and the "neighborhood school", has never hesitated to bus children out of their neighborhoods for the purpose of maintaining forced segregation, and just this fall fought against Black and Puerto Rican proposals for community control of their schools. The real questions are: Who will control the schools? Will the children learn? White racist control has always aimed to prevent the Black child from succeeding in that dangerous and subversive endeavor: learning to read.

There is widespread discussion in Boston's Black and Puerto Rican communities about the merits of the busing plan, about how to educate children in a racist society. There are movements developing for community control and to defend bilingual education. What unites all these diverse struggles is the fundamental demand that BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO ATTEND ANY SCHOOL IN THE CITY WITHOUT FEAR OR INTIMIDATION.

The Weather Underground Organization has been active during the school crisis. From underground, we have put up antiracist stickers and talked with people in white working-class communities, stink-bombed the offices of the School Committee and marched in the National March Against Racism on December 14th. We've also secretly attended weekly meetings of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the racist spearhead of the Boston antibusing movement. Our purpose has been to gain knowledge of the enemy's strategy and goals, to expose ROAR's purposes, and to discover its vulnerable points. The information we have gathered proves that racism is the guiding, motive force behind the "antibusing" drive.

ROAR was formed by City Councillor Louise Day Hicks and 25 other women in April 1974. The name ROAR refers to the "alienated rights" of white people -- rights which ROAR claims are violated by the busing plan.

ROAR is led by "community leaders" and the diehard remnants of Boston's reactionary Democratic Party machine. ROAR power centers include the City Council, the School Committee and the Police Department. Most ROAR leaders are property owners, who represent the upper strata of white, ethnic working-class

THE BATTLE OF BOSTON: Investigation of ROAR

neighborhoods like South Boston, Charlestown and East Boston. Far from being a spontaneous upsurge, the racist movement has been carefully orchestrated for years from the inner circles of Boston's city government.

Average attendance at ROAR meetings ranges between 400 and 500 people. The gatherings are militant, with those present committed to their cause. ROAR has strong ties in many of Boston's white working-class neighborhoods, as well as in the all-white, wealthier suburbs. Since the start of the school year, ROAR has been the main force behind the white school boycott, and has organized rallies, motorcades and marches, sometimes drawing up to 20,000 people. ROAR is now planning a national March on Washington on March 10 to demand a constitutional amendment against busing. ROAR has created the climate in which racist violence has escalated.

It is difficult to investigate ROAR without being detected. ROAR members know at least a few others from their own communities. ROAR functions in semi-secret fashion; at each meeting, two or three people were removed, either because they were suspected of being with the press or because no one could vouch for them.

NOTES FROM ROAR MEETINGS

*** October 23, 1974: This meeting took place, like all weekly ROAR gatherings, in the chambers of the City Council, at one City Hall Plaza.

As we enter the chambers, we are confronted with a security force of 6 to 8 men, some wearing white berets. They look closely at each person entering the meetings and ask where you live. Inside, contingents from different neighborhoods are grouped together. There are 500 people, all white, at the meeting. Rita Graul, long-time "executive secretary" to Louise Day Hicks and the leader of the South Boston Home and School Association, chairs the meeting. She opens with a few remarks:

"I want all of you to look to your left, look to your right to see if you recognize the person sitting next to you. We allow no notetaking in this meeting. Remember, it's a federal offense to interfere with desegregation and I don't want to be quoted on anything."

Next on the agenda are neighborhood reports. How is the white boycott going? Is any opposition surfacing against ROAR? A ROAR leader in Hyde Park, Richard Laws, is enthusiastic about activities in his neighborhood (where Black children have been stoned going to school). But Laws notes with concern that a coalition of Boston area tenants have just organized a march condemning racism. Laws shouts that the tenants are a "bunch of commies" who must be fought.

There are two main speakers: John Kerrigan, then the chairman of the School Committee and Leo Kahian, the candidate of George Wallace's American Party for Massachusetts Governor.

Kerrigan's speech attacks a group of Black and white teenagers from Charlotte, North Carolina who had come to Boston to argue for school integration. He calls them "liars" and says "they'll never get to use facilities in our schools to spread their filth." Kerrigan then paints the "true picture" of school integration in Charlotte: Black students attacking whites with knives, white girls being molested in the school bathrooms. No proof is offered, but his remarks draw shocked gasps from the audience.

Leo Kahian is next, the featured speaker. He speaks passionately of his love for God, Country and Family and his hatred for abortion. An ardent member of the John Birch Society, he looks out on the crowd and says, "Most of you here today are Birchers, only you don't realize it yet." For this he receives a standing ovation. Kahian ends with a warning against Communism. "In Russia and China they take your kids away from you at an early age. Just like they do in Boston -- when they force you to send your child into Roxbury."

Discussion of the "issues" in the school crisis follows. One person says that he doesn't want his child bused to the Elma Lewis School or the Lena Park Cultural Center in Roxbury, both renowned centers for art, dance and poetry:

"They call those places cultural centers. But these people don't have a culture. All they teach at those schools is how to use a knife."

The meeting ends after reports and discussion of future plans. City Councillor Albert O'Neill announces that 31 city politicians have just signed a statement supporting ROAR.

*** December 4, 1974: This meeting took

place while momentum was building for the National March Against Racism.

Security is even tighter than usual. Rita Graul stops the meeting three times to question people. A few people are kicked out.

Speaker after speaker denounces the upcoming march. The mood is apprehensive, demoralized and divided. One man is angered about being called a racist. A woman from Dorchester gets up and says, "Don't worry, it was Lenin who started calling people names like racists and Nazis."

Adam Krapsak, the ROAR representative from Brighton, a working-class community with a large student population, talks openly about the difficulties in organizing there. At a recent rally, bullbombs were torn from the cars in ROAR's motorcades, and speakers were heckled. Krapsak is upset about a letter printed in a Boston newspaper from a Brighton resident who likens ROAR to "storm-troopers" and "Nazis". He gives out the man's phone number and urges people to harass him. There has also been trouble at a Brookline motorcade; ROAR opponents slashed the tires of over 100 cars and confronted the racists with picket signs in support of Black students. A ROAR leader announces that more "marshalls" will be added to the next demonstration.

They are divided over strategy. Some people argue for a counter-demonstration on December 15th, others feel they will lose the "numbers game" to the antiracists. As it turned out, 20,000 people marched on the 14th and 3,000 came to an "antibusing" rally the next day.

There is a heated discussion about how to keep the white school boycott alive. Some ROAR members are worried that the School Committee will bow down to court pressure and urge students to return to school. Louise Day Hicks assures the crowd that ROAR will put its pressure on the School Committee. She then urges everyone to visit the schools in order to get pictures and stories of the horrors of integration.

A woman then jumps up and reports that a 12-year-old white girl was just "sexually assaulted" in a classroom by three Black students while the white teacher looked on. The woman offers no proof but her story is accepted as true, and everyone shudders. Some semblance of unity has been restored.

"Antibusing" is a nationwide movement, a tragedy for children and a challenge to antiracist people. Spurred on by Ford and Wallace, it aims to crush the Black and Puerto Rican fight for education, to divert white people from class struggle, and to mobilize a fascist base.

Boston is now the stormcenter of the battle to defeat this cancer. The "liberals", like Mayor Kevin White and Senator Ted Kennedy, long ago capitulated to the racist tide. White, who this fall sent in the Tactical Patrol Force to terrorize the residents of Columbia Point, has just filed suit to block future desegregation plans.

It's been the determination and courage of Black youth, who have fought with such dignity, that has set off a spark in the city. Many signs point to action and resistance this spring: Black community groups are uniting to defend James White, Puerto Rican parents are intensifying their fight to expand bilingual programs in the face of School Committee attempts to destroy them; citywide and national antiracist mobilizations are being planned.

Antiracist organizers are also at work in Boston's white communities, grappling with the task of winning white working-people away from the leadership of Hicks and Kerrigan. This is the key task in Boston, and much more has to be done.

ROAR is weakened by each open action against racism. As the December 14th march built, ROAR grew less sure of strategy and more disunited. ROAR is aware of, and upset by, each antiracist demonstration, by the day-to-day work of community organizers.

A visible, militant antiracist program can win over the many white people who have not stoned school buses or supported the white school boycott. Open agitation can dispel fear and the illusion that the racists speak for all the white people in Boston. Racism can be challenged and its fascist ROAR silenced.

*James White is a Black student at South Boston High School who was attacked by some white students and who is now being charged with assault.



South Boston High School

Black Workers and National Liberation



INTRODUCTION

The failure of Black revolutionaries to organize large numbers of Black workers is one of the most serious weaknesses of the Black Liberation movement. This problem is especially noticeable in periods of relatively low revolutionary mass activity, such as now. However, we cannot allow ourselves to be deceived by either the general low level of activity by the masses or by the specific inactivity of Black workers. We are entering a period which has the greatest potential for mass protest and rebellion since the Great Depression. The economic crisis of capitalism, fed by the defeats of imperialism in Indochina, Africa and the Middle East will surely lead to a new era of domestic crisis. Unemployment is at depression levels and becoming worse. The quality of schools, communities, housing and medical care is deteriorating while prices for necessities such as food, housing and medical care continue to soar. As the economic crisis deepens the bourgeoisie accelerates the use of its repressive military apparatus (police) in Third World communities. Police murders of Black and TW youth has become as common place as lynching once was. At the same time, the L.A.P.D. is training to suppress food riots while the country's police departments receive SWAT training for urban warfare. Repression breeds resistance. Consequently, we are entering a new period of resistance as well.

The first signs of resistance to the ruling class' repression have already occurred. Rebellions recently occurred in Newark and New York in response to white vigilante action. Mayors of major U.S. cities have warned of rebellions that will make those of the sixties look pale if economic conditions continue to worsen this summer. Conditions for mass struggle and rebellion are excellent! Economic conditions in the Black inner cities are worse than they were in the early sixties. People are embittered by what they consider the broken promises of jobs, equality and political power that the state made during the sixties. Despite favorable conditions for struggle, we must guard against the idea that the conditions alone will provide all that is necessary for successful rebellion. The late sixties should have taught us that after the masses exhaust their initial energy, they become increasingly frustrated and apathetic when constantly faced with the repression that follows spontaneous rebellion. On the other hand, the Black Panther Party should have taught us that when revolutionary organizations fight on without the full involvement of the masses in the revolutionary struggle, the organization can be isolated and cut up. The key to our success in the present period is linking the enthusiasm, energy and power of the masses with the disciplined leadership of a scientific vanguard organization. Within the Black Nation, Black workers are the largest and most powerful class. Only when Black workers are involved in the day to day struggle for liberation can we claim that we have involved the masses in revolution. It is mandatory that Black revolutionaries have a firm grasp of the development of the Black working class, its long history of struggle, its strengths and weaknesses, and its revolutionary potential. Without this understanding, we will be unable to realize the great revolutionary potential of the class and win liberation for our people.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACK WORKING CLASS

Africans were brought to the US as slaves to labor on the plantations that built British and US capitalism. Ever since we arrived we have been laborers; first as slaves mainly in the plantations, then as tenant farmers in the semi-feudal post-civil war South and finally as workers in the industrial centers of northern capitalism. As George Jackson stated that Blacks are still the "slaves" that keep US capitalism running; "The principal reservoir of revolutionary potential in America lies in wait inside the Black Colony. Its sheer numerical strength, its desperate historical relation to the violence of the productive system, and the fact of its present status in the creation of wealth force the black stratum at the base of the whole class structure into the forefront of any revolutionary scheme. Thirty percent of all industrial workers are Black. Close to 40% of all industrial support roles are filled by blacks. Blacks are still doing

the work of the greatest slave state in history. The terms of our servitude are all that have been altered."

The slave trade of Africans provided the capital accumulation necessary for capitalist development of Europe. Commentators from Marx to 18th century British merchants stressed 3 points: 1. The slave trade between Europe, the New World and Africa was the most profitable of all trade of the time (approx. the 17th and 18th centuries), 2. That without this trade of slaves, it would have been impossible for the industrial revolution to occur when it did both in Europe and North America, 3. That in general, Europeans and North Americans of all classes benefitted materially to some degree from the slave trade. In slave ports such as Liverpool, England, records show how everyone from the dockhands to the large scale merchantile capitalists benefited from a slave expedition. It is fair to conclude that without the slave trade, European capitalism, especially its British and North American forms, would not have developed as quickly or as strongly as it did - into world-wide systems of exploitation.

Slavery itself also played a key role in the development of US capitalism. For the first several decades of the 19th century, slave on plantations produced the necessary surplus for both the US' industrial revolution and the imperialist expansion into the west. Until approximately 1830, slaves were not completely confined to agricultural trades. Especially in southern cities such as Charleston, Black slaves made very important economic contributions in such skilled trades as bricklaying, blacksmithing and other skilled crafts. However between 1830 and 1860, a growing urban white population started moving Blacks out of the better jobs and in some cases of the cities themselves. This trend is shown in New York City where in 1850, 75% of Blacks had menial jobs. By 1855 87.6% were in unskilled positions. This pattern of forcing Blacks out of urban jobs and back onto the plantations typified both the North and the South during this period.

The betrayal of 1877 (Hayes-Tilden Compromise) handed the day to day rule of the South back to the planters who had been defeated during the civil war. Even though absolute control now lay in the hands of the Wall Street bankers (who invested nearly a billion dollars in the south) the relations between blacks and ruling class whites changed very little. The industrialization that started in the South during the 1880's at first had little effect on Black labor. As in the North with the immigrant workers, poor whites of the South had the first crack at the factory jobs. In the North, the Irish displaced Black workers from street-paving jobs, the Slavs displaced them in brickyards and all groups moved in on the once black stronghold of diningroom waiting. In Dayton, Ohio the National Cash Register Co. laid off 300 black janitors to make room for white farmers. During this period (1881-1099s) there were over 50 strikes by white workers protesting the employment of Black workers.

The industries which did hire Black workers substantially between 1890 and 1910 were located in rural areas. These industries were coal mining, lumbering and railroading. The rest of non-agricultural Black labor was mainly confined to such areas as seamstresses, personal servants and draymen.

During this period the labor movement began to accelerate tremendously. Unfortunately the movement was largely white and either ignored or often actively combatted the aspirations of Black labor. Most of the early labor organizations such as the National Labor Union (1866-1872) and the Knights of Labor (1869-1885) fought and led many mass labor struggles. They preached Black-white working class unity against the ruling class. However these two pioneering labor organizations made the same mistake that many working class white organizations still make. Both saw the problems of Black Labor (both in the North and South) as purely a class question. Consequently the National Labor Union had no program for supporting Black demands for democratic rights. They also were antagonistic to Black workers' attempts to unite with the Black petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry in a broad united front against the white ruling class. Secondly, as is still the case, these white la-

bor organizations were permeated with racism from the lowest member to the top leadership. One example of blatant racism was that the International Typographical Union would not admit Lewis H. Douglass (son of Fredrick Douglass, great ex-slave abolitionist and reconstruction leader), because he was Black. The National Labor Union refused to support Douglass' efforts.

As is still the case, there were two divergent Black responses to the formation of militant trade union organizations. One trend was to join these organizations despite their narrow-mindedness and racism. The other tendency was to form separate Black organizations with similar objectives and ideology but independent organization and leadership. In the period from 1869-1874 militant Black trade unionists took the latter course and formed the Colored National Labor Union. This trade union organization was founded at Union League Hall, Washington DC, in 1869. Most of the people represented were workers - blacksmiths, caulkers, longshoremen, bricklayer, iron moulders, waiters, machinists, carpenters, and many other trades. Issac Meyers, a Baltimore caulker was elected president. The CNLU had its own newspaper, "The National Era", and set up a Bureau of Labor. The CNLU's program included the plank of 40 acres and a mule, no more than 8 hours' work day, cooperative workers' associations and women's suffrage. Very few progressive organizations then could claim to support such a broad program of democratic programs and policies. The CNLU was able to recruit large numbers of Black workers where the NLU was usually met with failure. This was mainly due to the success of the CNLU in embracing the national and democratic aspirations of Black people in its program while relying on a solid working class base and leadership.

At first the CNLU had extremely friendly relations with the NLU. At its founding convention the membership remarked that they were "desiring of union with white workers". However, friction soon developed between the two organizations. One of the points of disunity was the CNLU's program of making alliances with the Republican Party to win broad win broad struggles for self-determination and democratic rights during Reconstruction. The NLU objected to this program because much of the Northern bourgeoisie was represented in the republican party. On the other hand, the NLU had no program of its own to support the efforts of Black people to consolidate and win victories in the south. Equally serious was the NLU's refusal to deal with racism in its own ranks. Besides its refusal to act in the well publicized case of Douglass' son, it consistently refused to move against the growing sentiment of white workers to purge Black workers from industry. Meyers told an audience of Black workers in Washington D.C. 1870, that, "unless they organized, they would soon be ousted from the skilled trades and left as servants, the sweepers of shavings, the scrapers of pitch, and carriers of mortar." Soon the NLU was denouncing the Black union as "being an agent of the republican party."

By the early 1870's the CNLU started declining as an organization of Black workers. The main struggle of our people during this time was the struggle of gaining freedom, land and democratic rights in the South during Reconstruction. The CNLU wholeheartedly supported this struggle. Unfortunately, the CNLU's leadership was unclear on two points. They were confused on how the national and class questions should affect organizational forms. Leaders such as Meyers, seeing the need for practical unity with white workers, started saying that, "the time for organizations based on color is past." Then as now there was mistrust on the part of Black workers of their white counterparts, and such calls for multinational worker organizations eroded mass support. Secondly, and equally critical, the leadership did not understand the relationship between working in a broad national united front and maintaining an independent organization of workers. From the outset, the CNLU contained substantial representation from petty bourgeois progressive Blacks. The first conference included doctors, lawyers, priests and had such delegates as Fredrick Douglass, Henry Garnet and Black republican official Langston. The leadership recognized that Blacks must wage a

CASA • CAMPAÑA

Con o Sin Documentos*Somos Trabajadores*Tenemos Derechos*Hacemos La Riqueza
With or Without Documents*We are Workers*We Have Rights*We Create Wealth

INTRODUCTION

C.A.S.A. - Center for Autonomous Social Action - General Brotherhood of Workers is an organization dedicated to serve and protect the undocumented worker in this country. C.A.S.A. began in Los Angeles in 1968 with the aim of organizing and developing these workers without documents. Since then C.A.S.A. has developed into a national organization with centers of defence in San Diego, Santa Ana, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Antonio, New York, San Pedro, Greeley, Colorado, San Jose, and a center being organized in Oakland. C.A.S.A. believes that workers without documents must provide their own leadership. The organization relies upon the contributions and creativity of its members, and does not receive any government funding. The C.A.S.A. members realize that they must actively participate in all aspects of the organization in order to be effective. C.A.S.A. is an anti-imperialist organization and carries on its work in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In order to counter the vicious and racist propaganda of the bourgeois, C.A.S.A. plans a year long National Campaign of Solidarity with the Immigrant Worker. The National Campaign will include forums, demonstrations, and a national tour of progressive Chicano cultural workers. The campaign will begin with a mass mobilization on May 4th commemorating International Workers Day and Cinco de Mayo.

In these times of economic crisis and growing rebellion, the capitalist system needs its scapegoats to account for inflation, low wages, increasing mass unemployment, and food shortages. Just as they did during the economic crisis of the 1930's and the 1950's the bourgeoisie is blaming problems which they created on working people.

On October 31, 1974, former Attorney General William Saxbe issued a public call for the deportation of 1 million "illegal aliens", which in his words, "constitute a severe national crisis." Since that time other government officials have claimed that "if every illegal alien were deported it could mean jobs for as many as 7 million U.S. citizens and legal residents."

In order to lighten its grip on the state and secure its rule, the bourgeoisie is playing on the natural fears that working people have, that if they do not work they and their families will starve. The media is fanning these flames of hysteria in weekly and sometimes daily news reports and articles about the "illegals in every factory" that "sneak across the borders of our nation to steal our jobs." Racial divisions are aggravated in the working class as Mexican, Chinese, Dominican and Haitian workers are portrayed as enemies rather than as fellow workers. The leadership of the AFL-CIO and many independent unions openly join with the bosses in these attacks on working people.

C.A.S.A. strongly feels that this propaganda must be fought. The lies countered, and the real cause of our social problems exposed. It is not the worker that enters the United States looking for a job that causes massive unemployment. It is the system of imperialism, of monopoly capitalism, which causes world-wide economic crisis, which causes great suffering and hunger for the many and great wealth and power for the few. It is this system which we must expose and it is against this system which we must unite.

It is imperialism which plunders Mexico and other countries. It is imperialism which causes the massive unemployment in Mexico. It is imperialism which encourages immigration during times of economic expansion and growth. And it is imperialism which resorts to massive deportations when overproduction causes the economy to contract, businesses to close, and unemployment to increase.

IMPERIALISM AND IMMIGRATION FROM MEXICO

The colonialism of the Americas by European powers was instrumental in the

rise of capitalism. The gold and silver which Spain drained from the empires of the Aztecs and Incas passed to the coffers of England, Holland, and France because of Spain's great foreign debts to these countries. The great wealth which came to Europe as a consequence of the forced labor of the indigenous population in the mines and on plantations provided capital necessary for the rise of capitalist production in Europe.

As the colonization of the Americas continued, population centers developed throughout what is now the Southwest and the Eastern Seaboard. After both the U.S. and Mexico won their independence from Europe, the U.S. began eyeing with greed the Northern territory of Mexico. The slave-ocracy in the South wanted more land for production of cotton and tobacco. The rising capitalist class in New England and New York hungered for the ports of California for trade with India and China. After fomenting the "independence" movement in Texas and annexing the territory, the U.S. went to war with Mexico. Between 1836 and 1853 the U.S. robbed Mexico of about two thirds of its territory and about 100,000 Mexicans.

After the War, Mexico was destitute. By contrast, gold, silver, and immense wealth from the trade in the Pacific flowed to the North, providing the rising capitalist class with capital for industrialization and gave it an upper hand against the slave-ocracy. After the Civil War in the U.S. the capitalist class had complete power over the state. The transcontinental railroad was built, industry flourished. The Robber Barons, the Rockefellers, the Couldes, the Duponts, the Mellons, the Morgans -- won control or ownership of the basic industries and of banking. Monopoly Capitalism had developed in the United States.

Once again Mexico was invaded. This time with the export of millions of dollars worth of capital. Porfirio Diaz had just come to power in 1877 when he began negotiating with U.S. firms to construct railroads in Mexico. To the companies which surveyed the land for the railroads, Diaz gave one third of all the land they surveyed. Working hand-in-hand with the imperialists, Diaz sold 125 million acres of land (about one quarter of Mexico) containing the richest oil and mineral deposits in the Republic. The imperialists from the U.S., England, and France came to control 100% of petroleum production, 98.2% of capital invested in mining, 95.7% of investments in agriculture, 84.3% of capital invested in industry, and 76.5% of capital invested in banking. The biggest investments came in mining, banking, and railroad construction.

The investments brought billions in profits to the U.S. imperialists and riches to the ruling class in Mexico. However, it brought great suffering to the masses of people in Mexico. The construction of the railroads disrupted the ejidos (communally held farm lands) in the rural areas. In addition, Diaz held much of these lands up for public auction. Hundreds of thousands of people were stripped of their land and their traditional means of subsistence. Farm-laborers began to work for wages. Workers migrated to where there were jobs--to the cities, such as Veracruz and Orizaba, to work in the textile industries, to the railroads and to the mines. Mexico was becoming proletarianized.

The Revolution of 1910, which overthrew Diaz, also fought against the semi-feudal land-holding system and opposed the destruction of the communal lands of the ejidos. But while the Revolution was being fought the migrations northward continued. In 1907, 1,406 Mexicans immigrated to the United States. In 1910, 18,691 came. By 1919, the annual immigration had reached 30,000. One year later, in 1920, over 52,000 Mexicans immigrated to the United States.

During World War I the imperialists encouraged immigration of Mexicans. Throughout the Southwest, agriculture

was being capitalized and the huge 'factories in the fields' of agribusiness were formed. Between 1900 and 1929 about 800,000 Mexicans migrated to the U.S., most of them coming to the Southwest. In the same time period, agricultural production grew from its small origins to a five billion dollar industry with Mexicans representing between 65 and 85% of the common laborers involved in this production.

In 1929 came the Great Depression and the Great Repatriations of Mexicans. Not only was immigration not encouraged, now imperialism began the mass round-up and deportation of approximately 550,000 Mexicans (many of them U.S. citizens). From 1930 to the out-break of WWII in 1941, annual immigration averaged about 2,000. It was during WWII that agribusiness once again required ready labor and once again looked toward Mexico. And so began the Bracero Program.



THE BRACERO PROGRAM

In 1942, the irregular and spontaneous migration of Mexicans gave way to a supervised and organized migration in response to the scarcity of labor and the demands of U.S. capital during WWII. In agriculture, the labor force was almost completely made up of immigrant workers, principally Mexicans, with thousands of Filipinos, Japanese and Hindustanis. The Chinese had long since disappeared as a factor in agricultural employment.

With the outbreak of a new imperialist war, industry, transportation, and the service trades were expanding rapidly, requiring large amounts of laborers. Workers were lured to the higher paying jobs now opening up in the cities. Pirating of another employer's workers became a commonplace practice.

The fascist roundups of the Japanese population in 1942 effectively displaced an important sector of the agricultural workers. The imbalances this produced were heightened with the growth of war industry -- steel and oil refining, aircraft and shipbuilding. The plants and shops that were built also attracted agricultural workers, notably from the Central Valley. It was for these reasons that the Bracero Program was created.

The number of immigrant workers entering the U.S. rose from 29,179 in 1944 to 1,100,000 in 1954. Public Law 78 became enacted in 1951, giving the Secretary of Labor authority to recruit Mexican workers for employment, including those who entered the United States illegally provided they had been there five years. Agribusiness actually ran the program, regulating and distributing the workers in the joint interests of all commercial growers and monopoly capital. Their associations also collaborated in fixing wages at a low level, and when workers responded with resistance and organized protest, the imperialists responded with systematic violence and repression. For example, a strike by the Confederacion de Uniones Obrera in 1928 was broken by arrests and deportations. In Brawley in 1934, a workers meeting was invaded by police officers armed with tear gas and billy clubs. In Orange County in 1936, over 400 Sheriff's deputies and special guards brutally put down their strike.

It was in this setting that the phrase was coined, "Farming in California is a business and not a way of life." Since the harvest is the major labor consuming operation on the farms, a larger number of farm hands is required. The large pool of unskilled, and cheap labor power can be found in Mexico.

The end of the Bracero Program came in 1965, leaving the U.S. agricultural sector in favorable conditions, but leaving a vast number of Mexican nationals without employment. Most of the Mexican workers stayed in Northern Mexico rather than return to their native areas of Mexico. Unemployment ran as high as 50% in many border cities in 1966. In 1965 the Mexican government established the Border Industrial Program to meet the unemployment situation in Northern Mexico.

CASA · CAMPAÑA

Coming into full operation in 1967, its primary goal was "the alleviation of widespread unemployment prevalent along the 2,000 mile common border with the United States", a problem created by the U.S. corporations and now turning to serve them again. In 1964 72 American-owned plants such as Magnavox, Samsonite, Republic Corporation, Sears and Roebuck, Motorola, Huges Aircraft, General Instrument, Litton Industries, Kimberly-Clark, Memorex, etc., were set up along the border. This grew to 147 in 1969 and 330 in 1972.* These plants turned out more than \$50 million worth of products in 1971, a 200% increase over 1969.

The usual procedure is to set up two plants, one on each side of the border. Under this "twin-plant" arrangement the products are initially processed in the U.S. plant, sent to the Mexican side for assembly, and then returned to the American side for "finishing and shipping". Finishing could mean as much as pasting on a label. The U.S. plants are usually the smaller of the two. For example, in an electronics manufacturing component in Laredo Texas, 75 are employed as opposed to 1,500 in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

Given the influx of Mexican workers in the border areas, Mexico will become more and more dependent on the relocated U.S. industries to keep on employing those workers already employed to offset the increase in the population. This dependency means increased vulnerability to the whims of the U.S. corporations, shifting the power of economic planning away from Mexico and over to the international corporations. The U.S. can also use this situation to its best political interests. Thus, whenever the U.S. experiences economic recessions, inflation, food shortages and unemployment the effects in Mexico, an underdeveloped country, will be devastating. It is the conditions of poverty, hunger, misery, and 50% unemployment in Mexico created by U.S. imperialism which forces our people to immigrate to the superdeveloped U.S. to earn a living. These people constitute the most vulnerable and exploited sectors of the United States working class. The immigrant worker without any social or legal protection is always the last hired and the first fired. He is constantly subject to racial discrimination, national chauvinism, and class exploitation, and must fend off ever-increasing attacks by the repressive forces of U.S. monopoly capital, specifically the I.N.S. and local police.

The function of the state under monopoly capitalism is to maintain the rule of the imperialists. This it does by use of its repressive apparatus, (courts, police, army, ideology) to attack and repress and ultimately to destroy any movements which may oppose or threaten the survival of this system.

To maintain his existence the capitalist must secure the greatest profit possible. When it is in his interests, he will invest in new machinery and the best techniques available. He pushes his workers with speedups and raised production quotas, all at the expense of the workers who create wealth for the capitalists.

This mechanization results in unemployment, forcing workers into the reserve army of labor. The natural growth of the labor force, i.e. through immigration, rural to urban migrations and birth rates, along with displacement due to mechanization adds to the reserve army. This reserve army is a product of the capitalist system and is absolutely essential to it. The capitalist system must have this pool of cheap and available labor when it expands its industries and is thriving, such as during booming war periods when the defense industry is called upon by Uncle Sam to produce tons and tons of heavy war machines. The reserve army also hurts the bargaining power of workers with jobs. If they complain about work conditions or demand better wages, the boss can always tell them, "If you don't like it then leave, there are plenty who can always replace you." What can the worker say? This reserve population is also necessary for new fields of industry that open up, such as tran-

sistors, computers, and photocopying machines in recent years. The capitalists can't very well take workers from other plants and industries, this would just hurt production in those industries as workers shifted from one industry to another. Instead, they make use of the vast army of unemployed. Also, when the size of the reserve army gets too large, the capitalists seek to maintain it at a manageable size. Consequently, as the conditions of monopoly capital worsen, large numbers of undocumented workers are sent out of the country.

We saw in the Great Depression of the 1939 period 550,000 Mexicans deported. In the recession of the 1950's, three and one half million were taken, with one million in 1954 alone, during "Operation Wetback". A great number of these were citizens, or people with every legal right to be in this country. In the last seven years the following number of people have been sent back to Mexico: 1968; 142,520. In 1969; 199,572. In 1970; 265,539. In 1971; 400,000. In 1972; 505,940. In 1973; 670,000. Last year, over 701,000 were sent back with a call made by William Saxbe to round up another ONE MILLION in 1975!



The Mexican immigrant worker without papers is under attack by the most reactionary sectors of U.S. monopoly capital in its most desperate, corrupt, and terroristic form -- fascism. With its roots in the concentration and centralization of capital, fascism represents the crisis of the state losing its power over the general population and the working class in particular.

We are seeing the rejuvenation of the tactics used by Hitler in Nazi Germany against the Jews. Dragnet raids have terrorized our communities in past years and terrorize us today. Whole neighborhoods are cordoned off by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service with the aid of local police. Then with great efficiency the cordoned off areas are combed by the fascist agents, entering homes illegally, entering worksites, churches and schools, brutalizing the occupants in a manner we can only associate with fascism, and if the occupants fail to produce satisfactory documents, they are summarily apprehended.

Immigration agents will enter factories and canneries and canneries demanding some form of identification with full cooperation and knowledge of the employers. Again, unless identification is produced to the satisfaction of the immigration agent, the immigrant worker will be deported.

Particular mention must be made of the terrible injustices suffered by hundreds of thousands of workers, especially those with wives and children born in the U.S. Once they have been deported to Mexico, it is impossible for them to return to their country of birth, simply because the head of the family has no visa. What could be more inhumane than to forcibly divide families whose only crime is to have dark skin, and be of Mexican or Latin descent.

Immigration law and repressive legislation is another aspect of the state apparatus and also has an economic and political base. In a class society the purpose of any law is to maintain the class relationships, that of exploiter and exploited and to protect the interests and private property of the class in power. Law and law enforcement arise out of the necessities of the dominant class; those who own the corporations and who control the economic and political system of this country. That is why

there are no laws which prevent corporations from bringing in billions of dollars in profits annually from shops that have "migrated" to other countries; that is why there are no tax laws which prevent lower income people from paying more taxes than people in higher income brackets; that is why private property is determined not by those who work it and produce it, but rather by those who own it. Law is used to pursue the quest for profits. Consequently, the economic situation of this country has a direct effect on immigration law and the enforcement of civil rights, not only of "aliens" but of all people in this country.

The undocumented worker has no civil rights in this country as is claimed by the Bill of Rights. Civil rights, like the rest of the laws, are made and enforced for the benefit of one class, the bourgeoisie. We see that when the ruling class is secure in its position of power, with a relatively stable economy, bourgeois democracy reigns and the myth of civil rights is perpetuated. But, when the class in power is insecure and unsure of itself, when its political corruption is exposed, when its international influence is checked by the people's liberation struggles around the world, and when the workers struggle begins to develop within her very own gut, then capitalism begins to lose control and the myth of civil rights is exposed, blatantly and shamelessly.

Racist and anti-labor legislation, like the Kennedy-Rodino Bill, seeks to relieve the employer of all responsibility in regards to hiring undocumented workers and to turn employers into policemen, must be exposed by all progressive and conscientious people. C.A.S.A. has sent hundreds of petitions and thousands of letters to Senator Kennedy and Congressman Rodino, has carried out popular propaganda programs and sponsored mass educational mobilizations against the repressive laws and the many injustices directed toward workers without documents.

C.A.S.A. - General Brotherhood of Workers is preparing to launch a NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF SOLIDARITY WITH IMMIGRANT WORKERS combating not only the repression directed against our immigrant brothers and sisters, but all repression in general including the imperialist drugs which find their way into our communities and our homes to poison and alienate our youth. These are drugs brought in by the U.S. government - CIA as another tool to divide and create fear between one sector of our community against another. Forced sterilizations, aimed especially towards Latinas, with its roots in racism, is another form of repression which all people must struggle against.

The campaign seeks to expose the capitalist crisis for what it is and to expose fascism and its infrastructure which is being constructed daily, i.e. urban renewal, police beef up programs, and the creation of specially trained armed police units. The great majority of television programs are from the point of view of a police mentality. They want to make people believe that without the police crime will overrun us and there will never be any peace. Protests around the country which threaten the credibility of the government are met with the armed forces of the state. We need only cite the Attica Rebellion, Wounded Knee, and the march which took place after the National Immigration Conference last March in Los Angeles, where several people were beaten and arrested.

C.A.S.A. feels that as wide a base as possible is necessary to cope with the problem at hand. Therefore, the following sectors will be concentrated on in our campaign; 1)workers, 2)the popular community, 3)students, 4)campesinos, 5)intellectuals, and 6)the left. To help raise funds for C.A.S.A. and the National Campaign, we will sponsor various fundraisers. If you would like to support C.A.S.A. in any way, donations, labor etc., write to C.A.S.A.--Oakland, 3808 E. 14th St., Oakland, California.

The rights of the undocumented worker must be defended, for it is your rights that you also struggle for. To defend the immigrant worker is to learn to defend yourself.

UN DANO CONTRA UNO ES UN DANO CONTRA TODOS!!!

BREAK DE CHAINS

★ ★ PRISON WORK ★ ★

"Henceforward, the interests of one will be the interests of all, for in concrete fact everyone will be discovered by the troops, everyone will be massacred-or everyone will be saved."

FANON

"Where there is unity there is strength" is not merely an old worn out cliché, but a truism, a fact. The greatest asset to the pigs in their operations to destroy us and our work is that our disunited, isolated and individual efforts make it easy for them

And it is ironic that

we should in any way assist them in our destruction. The tactics of political repression did succeed in transforming some of the methods of our resistance. It resulted in a slow down in work by some of us, due largely to fear, mental laziness and liberalism on our part. We all know, however, that the struggle is not now dead, and never will be. But its being alive is not nearly enough. Our struggle must be escalated! It is necessary, then, that the sisters and brothers whose situations we claim to concern ourselves with know that they have our support. We should let all political prisoners of the world know that we support their efforts not only in theory, but in practice as well. Just voice support is not enough. We must engage a daily struggle against the fascist keepers and guards of our warriors. We have to stop pretending

to care about things we're not willing to make real commitments to do something about. And in so doing, we must remember that our efforts will never be successful if we continue to work in isolation of the masses. We must, in everything we do, strive to involve more and more people in this our collective struggle.

There are many things that an individual can do to help in maintaining a constant watch over the lives of our comrades that are now held in US concentration camps.

A. First understand that the dialectical relationship between repression and resistance means that any revolutionary movement is going to produce political prisoners.

B. Understand that support of political prisoners is a form of self-defense, for every time the state arrests someone, frames someone, sentences someone, it is, in fact attacking the revolutionary movement.

C. Build links with people facing trials or in prison. And at the same time build a link with the community so that they too, may begin to show support. Incorporate support for political prisoners in all mass work.

D. We must stop acting like pen-pals or lovers and present some work in it's truest forms. By doing this, all of us will develop political responsibility.

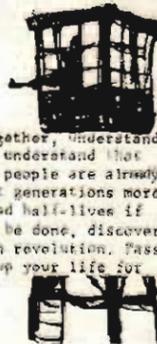
E. Support prisoners with political literature and books, money for commissary, legal assistance and any other work that can gain and push for a release of a prisoner, either legally through the courts, or by means necessary to acquire that freedom that we all speak of.

The above suggestions are important in reality if we follow through our commitments. It is regretful that many of these prisoners of war have been forgotten or overlooked. And the tragedy of our unconcern in this regard is that failure to awaken conscious concern and to mobilize some conspicuous and continuous support in their behalf may well result in the pigs' ability to exterminate or effectively eliminate another of our warriors.

But it is imperative that we not

forget that despite ideological differences among us all, we must remember the necessity to support all of those who struggle in quest of liberation for the oppressed. For it is only through a UNITED Front of support that our various battles will someday result in a common victory for us all.

GEORGE JACKSON:



Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people.



FROM VIETNAM



TO
C.I.W.



LETTERS FROM VIETNAM TO SISTERS IN CALIFORNIA JAILS

Dear Sisters,

With great emotion and deep sympathy we have read your letters brought by Arlene Eisen Bergman, who, in addition, told us many details about your hard conditions and struggle in prison.

We are very moved and ready to give our ardent support to all the sisters who are living under the claw of the brutal beast--U.S. imperialism. We have a common enemy, dear sisters; that's why we share our hardships and happiness. That is why every activity against the enemy, every victory won by you constitutes a source of great encouragement and

assistance to our Vietnamese people. Your victories and struggle are a source of gladness for us.

Now, in the South of our country, there are still 200,000 political prisoners detained illegally by the Thieu clique. Our friend Arlene, after her visit to our country will certainly tell you about the concrete situation and struggles of our prisoners. We ask her to embrace you all on behalf of the Vietnamese sisters here. Thank you sincerely for your support and enthusiasm. Our revolutionary love and combatantship to you. On behalf of our Vietnamese sisters, we send you our most ardent militant greetings and highest expressions of solidarity and sisterhood and love.

We are always beside you in our common struggle for peace, justice and freedom.

THE VIET NAM WOMEN'S UNION*



* There are 5 million active members in the Viet Nam Women's Union.

★ ATTICA ★

The Attica Prison Rebellion was not an isolated incident. Most large prisons in the U.S. have seen major up-risings in the last five years, all directed against the racism, brutality and general degradation of prison existence. Today there are about 1,300,000 Americans in prison, ninety percent of them Black, Latino and poor white people from the urban ghettos of America. In New York State alone, prisoners at Rikers Island, Queens and Brooklyn houses of detention, the Tombs, and Auburn Prison had risen up to bring their intolerable living conditions to the attention of the people-- all before Attica exploded. Prisoners at Auburn in November, 1970 were promised total amnesty, and were beaten gassed and maced in their cells the next day. They learned not to trust the promises of the State.

Before the Attica uprising of September 9, 1971, the prisoners had made a number of peaceful attempts to change the sub-human conditions under which they were forced to live. These attempts were met with broken promises and brutality.

These are the forces that created the uprising:

(1) Denial of humane conditions for the prisoners on every level: inedible food, one shower a week, 25 cents a day for wages, five minute parole hearings, constant abuse and brutality by an all-white, small town corps of guards, no human contact with their loved ones.

(2) The betrayal of the prisoners' attempts at change had created a situation of total distrust and frustration.

On September 9, 1971, the men of Attica rose up to challenge the authorities who were subjecting them to the inhumane treatment accorded to prisoners; they did what any human being with self-respect would do under similar circumstances. 1280 prisoners took over the entire institution, but were driven back into D yard and the surrounding cellblocks, taking 38 hostages with them.

During the four days they occupied the D yard, these men created a society and an order which was organized and disciplined. They refused to treat their hostages as they were treated; the hostages received medical treatment, they were fed before the prisoners were fed, they slept on mattresses while the prisoners slept on the ground.

Above all the prisoners overcame the

racism which is one of the prisons and society's most effective tools for dividing and controlling the population. They elected Black, Latino and white prisoners to negotiate with prison authorities.

One of the negotiators, Commissioner of Corrections, Russell Oswald said that the changes the prisoners demanded were "one hundred years over-due". The one demand that Oswald refused to meet was total amnesty. This was the test of good faith of the prison officials, and Oswald's failure to meet this demand led to the breakdown of negotiations.

Nelson Rockefeller, then governor of New York State, could not tolerate the challenge, which the "prisoner's society" posed to state authority and the prison system as a whole. On September 13th, with orders from Rockefeller and without warning or clear ultimatum, State troopers and prison guards moved in to crush the revolt. Armed with CS gas, automatic weapons, and shotguns, the officers poured 2200 rounds of ammunition into the unarmed men of Attica Prison and their hostages. 43 people died in the assault.

43 men cannot be massacred in silence. The state, quickly realizing its blunder, tried to coverup by reporting that prisoners had slit the throats and castrated several hostages. The official autopsy reports-- released the next day--proved that all those who died on the 13th were slain by police bullets.

Trying to patch up the first coverup attempt, the state fabricated a massive number of indictments against 62 prisoners of Attica in an effort to portray the prisoners as barbarians and the state officials as saviours. The Brothers were indicted by an all white Grand Jury, composed of friends and relatives of prison employees. The charges carry a maximum sentence of over 60,000 years. To prevent the cover from being exposed, the state has spent over \$9 million to prosecute and confine the Attica Brothers, while the Attica Brothers Legal Defense has not received one cent of official money.

Since the indictments came down and hearings began the state has used every tactic possible to keep the truth about Attica from surfacing. The trial of two of the defendants emulates the states practice from 1971 to the present.

Charley Joe Pemasilice and Dacajewiah were accused of murdering prison guard William Quinn. The defendants were denied cont. on page 7

ATTICA (cont.)

both the right to speak in their own defense and the right to a jury of their peers. Although both men are Native Americans, there were no Native Americans on the jury. The defendants were not given the right to interview the jurors. Testimony concerning conditions in the prison before the uprising; about the events leading up to the revolt, and the massacre that ended it were not allowed. Defense witnesses were kept from testifying and prosecution witnesses that were in prison at the time were intimidated and tortured into testifying against the men.

Although the defense was restricted to the events of September 9, it strongly refuted the case presented by the prosecution. Testimony was given by prisoners that Charley Joe and Dacajewiah had nothing to do with the death of Quinn.

In spite of the truth, Charley Joe and Dacajewiah were found guilty on April 5, 1975.

What we are now seeing in the Attica trials is the final desperate attempt by the state to shield from being brought to trial those officials who are criminally responsible for the mass murder of September 13. The state is trying to force all of the people who have been working with and supporting the prison struggle to divert their time, energy and money into long, expensive trials. By carefully avoiding charges that people usually identify with political trials, such as conspiracy, rioting, etc. the state is hoping that people will fail to understand the political nature of the charges.

Attica has its historical parallels at all levels--Wounded Knee, people in a ditch in My Lai, 200,000 political prisoners in Saigon's jails. Attica is testimony to the fact that the truth cannot be kept behind prison walls, and that the struggles of oppressed people in this country are one and the same struggle; that this struggle began long before the rebellion at Attica and that it will continue until victory has been attained.

★ LOS TRES ★

Albert Ortiz and Rodolfo Sanchez, two of Los Tres, three Mexicano anti-drug activists who were entrapped and convicted by the U.S. government in 1971, were once again imprisoned March 24, 1975.

The case of Los Tres stems from an altercation in which a heroin pusher was shot and wounded. The pusher was later revealed to be an agent of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.



LOS TRES

Juan Fernandez, Rodolfo Sanchez, and Alberto Ortiz

Los Tres were immediately and brutally arrested. After a two hour search in which the Pico Gardens housing projects in East Los Angeles were blocked off while federal and local police swarmed through. Ortiz, Sanchez and Juan Fernandez were surrounded, police helicopters hovering over their heads.

Their trial was an example of the injustice working people receive and can expect to receive in this country. Robert Canales, the wounded agent, testified that the three men knew him only as Bobby Parker, the pusher, not as a federal agent. He knew that maintaining the identity of a pusher would cause Los Tres to confront him with the ultimatum: stop dealing drugs or be run out of the neighborhood.

Convicted of conspiracy to commit crimes against the United States itself, assault on a federal agent, and robbery of a "custodian of mail matter, money, and other property of the United States" (Jesse James Act), Los Tres were sentenced by Lawrence Lydick (appointee, ex-law partner, business associate and personal friend of Nixon) to a combined total of 75 years in prison.

Lydick at no time permitted their defense of no prior knowledge of Bobby Parker's real identity. He did allow improper courtroom tactics by the prosecutor, such as having the jury searched as they entered the courtroom, creating fear and suspicion among them.

Lydick refused to halt FBI hounding of defense investigators (a felony), stating he did not believe the Federal Bureau of Investigation would do such a thing.



A county drug expert was not allowed to testify that law enforcement agencies cannot deal with the drug problem, that communities have to organize themselves against it. Lydick ruled the testimony immaterial.

When the prosecutor addressed the jury, accusing Rodolfo, Juan and Alberto of being pushers and police killers, of intending to use money taken from Canales to bail out their "cop killer" friend, inflammatory remarks for which he provided no evidence, Lydick did nothing to stop the prosecutor or to declare his remarks "immaterial".

Finally, despite the fact that Canales had been first to reach for a gun, the judge did not instruct the jury on self-defense.

Why this frameup by the government and its agency, BNDD, which purportedly fights drug traffic? How could Los Tres be conspiring against the U.S. when they confronted a drug pusher? Drugs, like armies, police and courts, are a form of repression, intended to destroy resistance and the spirit of resistance by communities to oppression.

Although familiar fascist methods of destroying civil rights (dragnets, immigration raids, psychosurgery, methadone) are used in the U.S. today, the imperialists and their government stooges have not yet resorted to the murderous terror that exists, for example, in Chile today. Their means of control are more subtle.

Drugs provide an answer to the problem of control. Besides the enormous profits of drug traffic (possibly \$5.5 billion a year--the nation's largest consumer import) addiction means much more. Drugs kill any kind of social consciousness through their alienating effects. Drugs separate their victims from the reality of their life. They are a means to escape the daily pressure inflicted by a capitalist system on working people. Smack makes its slaves politically helpless. It makes isolated outlaws of those who might otherwise lead the attack against injustice in American society. Faced with the daily horrors of slum life, many young people turn on to scag, directing their anger and frustrations against themselves rather than outward against their oppressors. Heroin is a form of genocide in which the victim pays to get killed.

It is no accident that there is an increase in barbiturates and amphetamines available among youth. These pills are products of U.S. pharmaceutical corporations. They overproduce for no other source of distribution than the black market. These companies have a profitable interest in drug addiction.

In areas where political consciousness has begun to blossom, where people are becoming politically active, drug traffic has been used to kill their minds. In Watts, Newark and other black communities after rebellions against conditions of poverty, drugs appeared in abundance. In East Los Angeles after mass walkouts by Mexican youth in protest of the lack of educational opportunities and school conditions, drugs appeared to kill any further consciousness.

Understanding this, hundreds of thousands of people united in support of Los Tres, against repressive drug traffic, and against state-enforced exploitation of all others by the ruling class. After a two and a half year campaign the people finally accumulated \$150,000 to bail the brothers out.

But when attorneys attempted to deposit the bail, the state said there was no bail. After Judge Lydick declared there was bail, the prosecutor attempted to have bail increased on the racist grounds that Los Tres, like all Mexicans, would split to Mexico.

For over a week, hundreds demonstrated outside the courthouse. To the rejection of bail, the people demanded, "Bail now, free Los Tres!" To the attempt to raise the bail, the people shouted, "We want Los Tres out now!" And to the entire frameup and trial, the people demanded, "Drop the charges, free Los Tres!" And the people won. Los Tres were released on \$150,000 bail in November, 1973.

Since then the case has been before the U.S. Supreme Court on a petition for review.

In May, 1974, again due to the nationwide support of Latinos and other working people, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed one of the charges against them, the Jesse James Act, reducing their combined sentence by 40 years.

On March 24, 1975, however, the Supreme Court denied their petition for review--refused to hear the case. In so doing, the court determined that you need not know that a person is a federal agent to be convicted of assaulting an agent and conspiring to commit crimes against the U.S. government!!!

Within hours of the Supreme Court decision, Lydick, though Los Tres had 25 days to petition for rehearing, revoked bail and issued arrest warrants. Sanchez and Ortiz were immediately picked up by armed FBI agents.

The whereabouts of Fernandez remain unknown. Allegedly seeking him, 20 agents with shotguns, pistols and automatic weapons broke down the doors of the National Committee to Free Los Tres office in East L.A., ripped out phone wires and ransacked the place.

A half hour later agents surrounded the home of Juan Fernandez' mother and six plainclothesmen entered the house. Three agents went into the bedroom and pointed handguns at Mrs. Fernandez (one agent pointed two guns at her) and demanded she tell them where Juan was, saying to her over and over that Juan would be killed if he did not turn himself in.

That night armed agents again entered Mrs. Fernandez' home without knocking, claiming they were going to return any time they wanted to. Cars parked outside maintained a continuous stakeout.

The defense, following the arrest of Ortiz and Sanchez, immediately appealed the illegal revocation of bail and demanded their release from the Los Angeles County Jail. Los Tres had a period of 25 days to petition for a rehearing, during that time the case remains in the hands of the Supreme Court. The petition has been filed. Judge Lydick signed arrest warrants anticipating a denial. He had no mandate of the case before him.

The Supreme Court decision and Gestapo style arrests of Los Tres bring us a step closer to legal conditions of Nazi Germany in the '30's and Chile today.

Fascism, made insecure by economic crisis, workers' unrest and the threat of liberation struggles, relies on brutality to reassert control. This is shown by court decisions giving the police unlimited power and restricting the rights of people, and military-terrorist arrests by heavily armed police agents.

As terror comes down, the people fight back. The National Committee to Free Los Tres has declared a national mobilization. Corrupt and reactionary officials will only respect our constitutional rights to the degree that we demand them through our words and coordinated actions. In the Bay Area, outrage at the return of Los Tres to prison included a demonstration at the Superior Court House in San Jose April 2.

Information on further action can be obtained from the Committee, 416 So. Pecan St., Los Angeles, Ca. 90033

FREE LOS TRES!!!

A YEAR OF PRACTICE

"Seize the Time" has been publishing for one year now. The Staff of STT feels that the paper has reached a point where summing up our practice and development is necessary for us to move ahead.

Too often, revolutionaries don't attempt to look critically at their practice. They do not ask themselves: What did we do right; what did we do wrong; what were the effects; how do we correct our practice and what should we achieve in the future? STT thinks that our readers can benefit from this kind of analysis of STT's practice.

STT has been aimed at reaching organizers and activists and helping them build cadre organizations, both among white workers and in the national liberation movements. Our paper has 8 central points of unity. These have provided a framework (but not a definition) for the practice of STT. These points have withstood a year of our work as well as years of practice by others very well. They are:

1) To unite and provide information and communication for the non-revisionist left.

By non-revisionist we mean those organizers that understand that American society is presently based on a corrupt, dehumanizing, wasteful, killer socio-economic system that will not and cannot benefit the vast majority of people. Further, an egalitarian, collective, producer (worker) controlled society will benefit the vast majority of the people. Transition to this society will not come about peacefully because of the violent resistance of the few who now benefit from the misery of many. Lastly, those who suffer the most now and their struggles will in general be the leadership of the social revolution.

Information provided in our paper has been reprinted in Black community newsletters and in pamphlets for study groups. Prisoners' support committees have been using it for political education. Various Chicano, Asian, and white study groups have included articles on their reading and discussion lists.

In its distribution STT is a tool to establish political connections. Organizers and activists have responded well to the paper, even though we have not been very disciplined and clear on distribution. The effect of distribution in many areas has been to establish links between activists who were isolated from one another before. This is critical considering the chaotic state of the non-revisionist left today.

STT's successes in this area rests on two key features of STT. One is its country-wide viewpoint. The second is STT's focus on using and developing theory to solve the strategic problems of revolution--how do we organize revolution, how do we make correct analysis of a given situation, what political principles should we adopt to really serve the people? We do not focus on reporting or stop at analyzing an event. We want to help people to predict and control events--to win the war.

2) To raise and clarify the level of ideological struggle within the revolutionary movement.

There are currently many different views on what is the best way to win the revolution. The effectiveness of the practice based in the different views is the key to resolving this struggle. Our job is to find out, analyze and report such practice, summation, and theories.

Many of the major articles written by STT have provoked ideological discussion and consolidated ideological positions of previously unorganized groups. The centerfold in issue #2 on Fascism, "Organization of the Revolutionary Movement (#2)", "Ideological Clarity in the Black Liberation Movement (#3)", the series on the role of the white working class and white revolutionaries (#4&5) and the article, "Internationalism in the U.S." (#5) have all provoked much response. For example, the anti-imperialist caucus in VVAW-WSO in the San Francisco Bay Area voted to endorse the position of the article, "Struggle in VVAW-WSO" (#5), a perspective on the issues involved in the RU effort to take over VVAW-WSO.

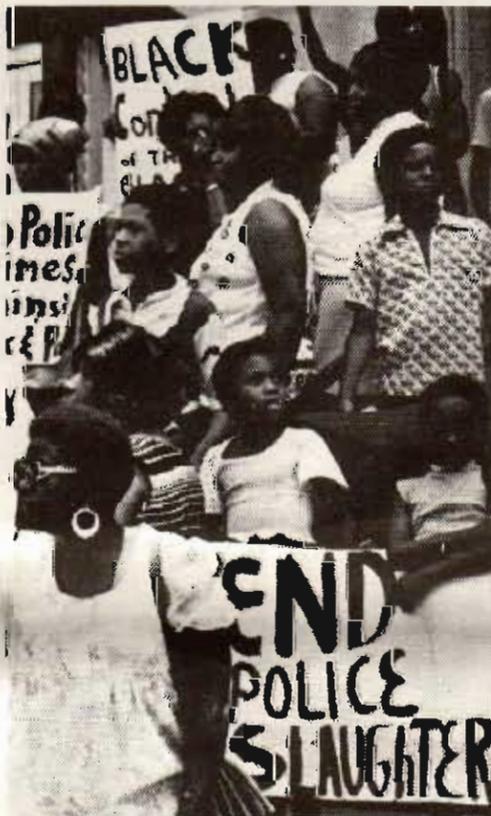
3) To provide support and information for national struggles within the U.S.

We believe that national forms of struggle against U.S. imperialism within the U.S., i.e. Black, Chicano, Native American, etc. are the leading form of struggle here for the present period.

During our year of practice, the Staff of

STT has come to believe that, in order to best organize these struggles, the formation of united fronts and parties based on nations within the U.S. is necessary at this time. We do not think that parties or organizations based on the "whole multi-national working class" will effectively organize either TW or white working people. This concept is at best idealistic and ignores the empire's history and at worst racist. Ending national oppression can not be dismissed until after socialism because it can't be fully achieved under capitalism. Rather, in order to achieve socialism, we must destroy imperialism which depends on national oppression.

When organizations like the RU put that kind of theory into practice, issues such as busing in Boston get reduced to a question of "equal rights", not anti-imperialism and national liberation. This leads to errors like calling for community self-defense in both white and Black neighborhoods when it is Black children who are being stoned. Do both U.S. soldiers and Vietnamese peasants have an equal right to self-defense in Vietnam? And they are both part of the international working class.



Police murders of youth are a major issue in Third World communities. (Protest in Atlanta)

On the other hand, STT has seen organizations based on national struggles build campaigns involving large numbers of their people, workers and other classes. They also have won the support of many other TW and white people. For example, the African Liberation Support Committee has organized hundreds of thousands of Black people to support liberation struggles of African Blacks and Black people here. CASA, Hermanidad de Trabajadores, has been working to protect the right of Latino workers in the US. This spring CASA began a nation-wide campaign against economic deportations.

The Wounded Knee occupation sparked dozens of similar struggles by Native American people. These include struggles to recognize treaty rights and national sovereignty, to stop the super-exploitation of reservation factories, to fight the European concepts of private property (preventing white businessmen from building warehouses on traditional burial grounds and occupying unused lands and buildings to demand schools, medical centers and cultural centers). The Puerto Rican Socialist Party has organized both in Puerto Rico and the US huge demonstrations supporting Puerto Rican independence. In particular, its slogan "No colonies for the Bicentennial" has reached millions of working people who were unaware of US imperialism.

Filipino, Japanese and Chinese people generally see themselves as national minorities in the US. Yet even here the necessity of building a base in national forms of struggle is made clear as Filipino, Japanese and Chinese organizations have done the bulk of organizing within that nationality. It is clear that socialist revolution for even a national minority does not mean liquidation of national culture and organization, but exactly the opposite.

"Correct" white (and sometimes TW) revolutionaries often attack or dismiss all this work because it involves alliances between the working class and middle classes of each nationality. They maintain that such alliances will inevitably be dominated by petty bourgeois nationalism. (Unfortunately, they confuse the issue by calling the rejection of their leadership petty bourgeois nationalism.) Certainly that is a real possibility. Certainly there are struggle within every national movement and organization over which road to take. In ALSC it took the form of "do we only support liberation in Africa, or do we also support liberation here?" There is a struggle between CASA and UFW over "do we denounce and turn over 'illegal immigrants' for taking 'US' jobs or do we unite Chicano and Mexicano workers to fight job exploitation and deportations?"

This is precisely why STT thinks that building national parties is the most pressing need of our national liberation movements. By party we mean a disciplined cadre organization with both scientific socialist principles and, in this case, revolutionary nationalism. Party organization would provide consistent, working-class leadership to the mass movement and its united front organizations. It also makes possible principled and realistic alliances with the greatest number of white workers through joint work with white working class cadre organizations.

4) To provide support and information on the working class movement within the US.

We believe that the working class movement is the basis for uniting the struggles of the vast majority of people, including national liberation struggles within the US and with the world revolution. We believe working class leadership is necessary for the over-all movement towards a better society and within each national struggle. Working people produce not only the material basis of any society but also its history, culture and technology. For white revolutionaries the main task is to build the workers' movement in an anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-capitalist and anti-sexist way. For TW revolutionaries the main task is bring working class leadership to the national movement.

STT has been weak on discussing the practice of the working class movement. STT must correct this fault in the future.

We recognize that the working class is the largest class within the oppressed nationalities of the US. We also recognize the tremendous power of the proletariat due to its strategic placement in relation to production. Potentially the proletariat during a general strike could force the US to its knees. On the other hand, we recognize that 1) no revolution has yet been won by a single class. Alliances between the proletariat and other oppressed classes have been necessary for seizure of state power. 2) The specific development of US capitalism has led to large numbers of oppressed under and unemployed people of color. These people have nothing to lose by revolution and some aspects of their consciousness is more advanced than that of TW workers. Furthermore, as the US capitalist crisis deepens, more and more TW workers will be thrown out of work (in some cities Black unemployed outnumber Black workers). There must be a functional alliance within the national struggles of workers with and without jobs! These workers when allied with progressive lumpen and petty bourgeoisie will provide the main strategic force for national liberation. It has been shown that the best leadership of the recent liberation movement has come from workers, former workers and former lumpens, (Malcolm X).



5) To provide support and information on the World Revolution.

US imperialism is a worldwide system. Revolution against it has also developed worldwide solidarity. The struggles of people abroad affect our struggle and vice versa. Many struggles hold valuable lessons for our own developing struggle. So, STT has also tried to provide documents from the World Revolution that have significance for our struggle.

The primary focus of our paper has always been struggle here - JUCHE. However, we have found presenting the series of articles on organizing the party, united fronts and international coordination helpful in suggesting solutions to problems we have here in the belly of the beast.

Cont. to Pg. 9 (after centerfold)

NATIONAL LIBERATION AND PROPAGANDA

Effective propaganda work must be based on a clear grasp of the following four points:

1. the definition and role of propaganda in our struggle for national liberation.
2. the various forms of propaganda and the their relative effectiveness.
3. the type(s) of content most worthy of emphasis in revolutionary propaganda.
4. possible steps for implementation of revolutionary propaganda.

Each of these topics will be discussed separately in the following paragraphs.

DEFINITION AND ROLE OF PROPAGANDA

Propaganda simply means information and ideas that are consciously spread. The dissemination of information and ideas is propaganda, regardless of who does the dissemination, whether the information is true or not, or what the ideas are. The New York Times is propaganda no less than is Muhammad Speaks or the Black Liberation Army's statement "The War of the Flea". We can see that the New York Times, and the "legitimate" media in general, is simply the enemy's propaganda apparatus--- if only from observing the consistent and blatant racism in the coverage of news. The point is emphasized here because effective revolutionary propaganda work requires that we combat the impact of the oppressor's propaganda, which includes television, bill boards, newspapers, magazines, radio, the public schools, comic books, and virtually all information to which we are exposed. Even that which we get from our family and community has probably passed through one of the oppressor's mechanisms listed above. By understanding the near total extent to which we are immersed in our enemy's information and thought patterns (and consequently his life-style), we can see the enormity of the task before us.

Brother Kwame Nkrumah has identified two "different but essential functions" of revolutionary propaganda. They are: (1) to subvert the enemy; (2) to awaken and mobilize our people. Given the degree to which we have been "americanized" (psychologically if not materially), and the reality that military action does not yet seem to be the most stable or popularly embraced aspect of our struggle, the separation of these two functions---even for purposes of analysis---is somewhat premature. Effective subversion of the enemy can only begin with the awakening and mobilization of our people. In attempting to awaken and mobilize our people we must see that the distance we have to travel is not simply from a "neutral" position to a revolutionary position. We must realistically consider the tremendous impact of 354 years of psychological oppression systematic and so intense that a southern senator once boasted before the U.S. Congress that "we have succeeded in extinguishing every avenue by which light might enter the mind of the slave".

While the great majority of our people recognize the reality of our oppression, we do not always recognize the extent to which we've internalized certain aspects of its rationale. One such aspect is economic hierarchy, which is the structural basis of our oppression. This idea will be returned to, but the point of emphasis here is that revolutionary propaganda must address itself not only to the daily changes in conditions and events which affect us, but also to the basic assumptions and beliefs that together determine our world view. As a result of the propaganda to which we have been ruthlessly subjected, our people have a dangerously distorted understanding of ourselves, our situation, and our capacity to make change. The role of revolutionary propaganda is to correct this understanding. To struggle for positive education in the Black community is in fact to struggle against racism and imperialism.

FORMS OF PROPAGANDA

In discussing forms of propaganda, we must consider both applicable meanings of the term "form": (1) medium, and (2) format. We should constantly experiment to determine the effectiveness of various media, and seek to develop new ones. We must also understand that our conclusions regarding relative effectiveness must guide but not limit the range of our work. Given the enormity and complexity of the communications systems in this country, it is nec-

essary that some level of propaganda work be conducted in each of the following areas:

Print Media includes newspapers, magazines, newsletters, pamphlets, leaflets, etc. The relatively low level of technology required for printed propaganda makes it a particularly useful form in revolutionary situations. Print also allows for great flexibility in its means of dissemination. In other revolutionary situations, the effectiveness of printed propaganda has been greatly inhibited by low literacy rates. But the relatively high reading ability of African people in the United States ensures that literacy will not be the kind of obstacle that it was in the Cuban revolution or is in the Mozambiquan revolution.

Visual Propaganda includes films, video tapes, photography, etc. The major advantage of visual propaganda is that it requires the least effort on the part of its audience. If it is just brought within the eyesight of an observer, the communication of information and/or ideas requires little or no initiative on his part. Photographs can be distributed in much the same way as the printed word, but the production and dissemination of films and video tapes have technological prerequisites that inhibit their use by revolutionaries. However, these difficulties are not insurmountable, quite to the contrary they must be overcome so that we can begin production of films comparable (qualitatively) to "A Luta Continua", about the national oppression and national struggle of African people in the U.S.

Audio Propaganda includes word-of-mouth, speeches, conversations, and interviews,

or recordings of any such communication. Speech is a universal medium within which language forms superficial boundaries. The technology necessary to reproduce the spoken word is within the grasp of African revolutionaries in this country. The major advantage of audio propaganda are: (1) it does not require that the audience take the initiative to read, but only to listen, and (2) it is particularly conducive to educational discussions in group situations.

Propaganda Through Art and Entertainment

includes music, drama, dance, poetry, painting, sculpture, cartoons, etc. Both art and entertainment also come through the three previously listed categories (print, visual, and audio) but they are separated here because of the crucial role they (can) play at this time. We must understand that the cultural basis of art and entertainment can make them political regardless of their content. Also, our collective lack of clarity on the need for and nature of revolutionary struggle means that art and entertainment are the most acceptable forms of political propaganda for our people at this time. To prove this point, we need only consider the tremendous negative impact of so-called black films such as Shaft, Superfly, etc.

Commercial Electronic Media (radio and television) should be viewed as a separate category, as they represent an area which we can only hope to infiltrate with limited success, but probably won't control---in any sense or aspect---for some time to come. The enemy carefully controls radio and television because he recognizes their power. Together, they determine the "american view" (to which too many of us subscribe). Further, the level of technology required for television and broad scale radio communication facilitates the ruling class monopoly of the air waves. Any loopholes in this monopoly are filled with the oppressor's laws.

The second meaning of the term "form" has to do with the style and vocabulary we use within any of the above categories. The acceptability of propaganda to its audience is the sole criterion for judging its format. If our people do not respond to propaganda because of its form, then the content is worthless. There are two factors to consider in determining format. Firstly, who is the audience? Youth in public schools? Young working people? College students? Community elders? The community as a whole? It is important to have a clear answer to this question. Secondly, what is the nature of the message we want to communicate? If it is just an announcement, it should be as brief as possible but still answer all relevant questions (who, what, where, when, and why.). However, if our purpose is to explain a particular econ-

Cont. to Page D



Visual propaganda: A Black man in the U.S. carries a poster of an African liberation fighter made in China.****

NOTE TO OUR READERS

The next article (pages B & C), IMPERIALISM AND THE BLACK MEDIA, has been reprinted from the Black Scholar (Nov. '74). Due to space limitations, it has been edited. However, the last section, starting from the example of Black journalists during the Depression and revolutionary journalists around the world, is intact. We urge our readers to read the original if possible.

The article was written by the National Coordinating Committee of the "Year to Pull the Covers Off Imperialism".

OF FURTHER INTEREST

THE CONTROL OF MAJOR TELEVISION NETWORKS

ABC: Controlled mainly by the Morgan finance capital group. It owns ABC TV network with 168 affiliates, five television stations and four ABC radio networks with 1,254 affiliates. It is the largest motion picture distribution chain in the U.S., owning over 434 Paramount Theatres. It owns ABC records and publishes several journals. ABC International has controlling interests in 10 foreign companies operating television stations in 26 countries and its ABC World division directly owns 64 foreign television stations.

NBC: Controlled jointly by the Rockefeller and Morgan finance capital groups. RCA owns all of NBC and is one of the 20 largest corporations in the world. RCA produces 1,200 products in more than 60 manufacturing plants. RCA owns NBC television network with 215 affiliates, NBC radio network with 220 radio affiliates, and five television, six AM and FM stations. It also owns Random House, RCA records, and Hertz Rent-a-Car. RCA is also a leading supplier of electronics equipment for the military and police.



CBS: Controlled by the Rockefeller and Morgan finance capital groups. CBS owns CBS TV network with 247 affiliates, CBS radio network with 246 affiliates, five television and 14 radio stations, and Viacom Cable TV. It also owns the largest record company in the world-CBS records-and Fender Guitar, Holt and Dryden publishers, Field and Stream Magazine, Creative Playthings, Memorex. CBS produces commercial films and tapes and CBS Labs has developed special techniques for police surveillance and chemical/bacteriological warfare.



IMPERIALISM AND THE BLACK MEDIA

The first step in dealing with imperialism and the black media is to understand the precise character of U.S. imperialism- the principle obstacle to the liberation of all exploited and oppressed people. Imperialism is monopoly capitalism on a world scale, the domination of the world economy by large monopoly corporations. Imperialism developed from capitalism. Under capitalism, the masses of people are collectively engaged in production of goods and receive a wage just large enough to purchase their necessities. The largest amount of goods produced in this collective process, however, are taken, sold, and consumed as "profits" by a small group of capitalists who claim "private" ownership over the factories and other means that were used in the collective process of production. This leads to great wealth for the few capitalists on the one hand, and subsistence living for the masses of working people on the other.

In his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin said, "If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism, we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism." At the base of the world system of imperialism is US monopoly capitalism. That is, corporations owned and headquartered in the U.S. dominate the world economy and its peoples. Let us illustrate this point with a brief discussion of four aspects of U.S. imperialism and U.S. monopoly capitalism drawn from Lenin's discussion.

1- MONOPOLY: A major feature of the U.S. and the world economy is that the production of goods and the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few large corporations. In May 1974, *Fortune* reported that the 500 largest corporations accounted for 65% of the sales, 76% of the employees, and 79% of all the profits of the 1.5 million industrial corporations in the U.S. This tremendous power enabled them to increase their profits 39% over 1973 to a record \$36.3 billion.

2-FINANCE CAPITAL: Through an intricate and usually hard-to-uncover web of mechanisms-outright ownership, interlocking directors (two corporations "sharing" a director), holding the deposits or managing the employee benefit funds of large corporations- U.S. financial institutions and U.S. industry combine their wealth to create the vast pool of "finance capital" used to dominate the world economy.

Seven NY banks- led by the Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan- were among the top 39 stockholders in 89 of the largest US companies, holding more than a controlling percentage in the majority of companies.

3- U.S. FOREIGN INVESTMENTS: U.S. monopoly capitalism accounts for the largest portion of the world's foreign investments. In 1972, U.S. direct investments abroad were \$94 billion (\$7 billion higher than the GNP of Canada!) Big U.S. corporations made these investments: in 1966, 29 corporations accounted for 70% of all U.S. investments in all of Western Europe.

4- CONTROL OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND FOREIGN MARKETS: All of the above strengthens U.S. monopoly capitalism's hold over resource markets, and other people in other parts of the world. In 1970, the following percentages of the profits reported by US oil companies came from the Third World: Mobil-53%, Standard-49%, Teaco-37%, Exxon-35%.

The above discussion describes the strength of U.S. imperialism but it is also obvious that imperialism is in the midst of a very serious crisis. Internationally, it is being booted out of countries where it has historically exploited resources and people at great profits; it is being challenged by the tremendous growth and development of socialist countries and undermined by the competition of other capitalist countries. All of these forces are weakening U.S. imperialism and intensifying the domestic crisis in the United States.

The most outstanding feature of this domestic crisis is the trend toward increasing wealth for the U.S.

ruling class and increasing misery for the U.S. masses. This has intensified the struggle between these two forces, most noticeably in the upsurge of labor strikes. Profits soar while wages are frozen, and layoffs and unemployment are on the upswing. These developments are accompanied by increased police repression and increased discussion of U.S. military intervention abroad. The increase in racist attacks of black people and other Third World communities is a main aspect of the present crisis.

This brief discussion of imperialism sets the overall context that is influencing every aspect of our daily lives and must be taken into account as we discuss the mass media and black liberation.

IMPERIALISM AND THE RISE OF THE MEDIA

One question that we cannot devote enough space to and urge others to do so is this: what historical forces in society created the mass media? How did it arise and who supported its development? To answer this question, the development of the mass media in size and influence is linked to the development of U.S. imperialism and monopoly capitalism. Only expanding, profitable, and profit seeking corporations could finance the creation and utilization of new media technology to more effectively sell its goods to a consuming public and increase its profits. Our study of the history of newspapers, radio, and television demonstrate the validity of this point.

Newspapers developed during the period identified as the beginnings of U.S. imperialism- the 40 year period of rapid post-Civil War economic growth. Between 1880 and 1910, newspapers sputtered from 3 million to 22.5 in circulation. 1883 was the first year that advertising exceeded circulation as a source of revenue, pointing to growing importance of newspapers to the advertising needs of a developing capitalism. Radio got its boost during the post-World War I period of industrial growth and economic prosperity. Between 1922 and 1925, radio grew from 400,000 sets per home to 4 million. While installment buying made it easier for the average family to afford consumer goods like the radio, the major obstacle was the lack of a financial base to make radio turn a profit. When capitalists recognized the advertising potential of radio in 1922, radio developed.

Television is similar. Because of the huge profits and government subsidized factories, research and new technology ripped off during World War II, companies like RCA and Westinghouse (whose profit increased about 5 times between 1940 and 1950) could develop and mass produce televisions at an even greater profit during the immediate post-war period. The number of televisions jumped from 10,000 in 1945 to 10 million in 1949.

Thus, if the rise of the mass media is so closely tied with U.S. imperialism, then we cannot talk of fundamentally changing the character of the mass media without changing the character of the entire system which gave the mass media its birth and nurtured it into the monster that it now is.

WHO OWNS THE MEDIA?

Another essential question that has been underemphasized in discussions of black media is who owns the most important and the most powerful media outlets in the U.S. The answer to this question will reveal in whose interest the mass media industry operates. In brief, the pattern of ownership of the mass media is identical to the pattern of monopoly capitalism in the U.S. economy. Ownership is characterized by "media monopolies" and is concentrated among a few large corporations. Heavily represented in the ownership of media are large financial institutions, that serve to bring the mass media under the ownership and control of the same elite U.S. ruling class that owns the rest of the economy.

Newspaper: E. Lundber wrote in his *80 Families; (The press) represents huge investments, but functions constantly, whether it is commercially profitable or not because it serves a specific class objective.*

This article was prepared in connection with the call for black intellectuals to unite in a year of study and struggle around the theme of "Imperialism and Black Liberation." Additional information can be obtained by writing to the National Coordinating Committee, Year To Pull The Covers Off Imperialism (YTPCOI) Project, P.O. 5747, Nashville, Tn. 37208. Responses to the article, particularly from black people in the media, are encouraged.

This "class objective" of increasing its power and its profits are further revealed by two present day trends in newspapers ownership: the increasing development of local newspaper monopolies and the growth of newspaper "groups" and "chains" which are putting the ownership of newspapers into the hands of fewer and fewer people.

The top 10 chain conglomerates include such powerful syndicates as Scripps-Howard, Hearst, Knight, Gannett, Cowles and the Chicago Tribune group (the largest)-owning 12 1/2 daily newspapers with a circulation of over 100 million. Their power is even more extensive: Scripps-Howard owns 17 newspapers and 95% of United Press International (UPI) and television stations in Cleveland, Memphis, and Cincinnati, for example.

Broadcasting: *The Disclosure of Corporate Ownership* report of the United States Senate gives a concise summary of the position of US monopoly capitalism as the dominant force in the US economy and in the broadcasting industry. After giving the holdings of such banks as Chase-Manhattan, First National City, and Bankers Trust in the media, the report concludes:

Broadcast companies are often subsidiaries of companies that are not primarily engaged in broadcasting--Avco, Dunn and Bradstreet, Westinghouse, General Electric, Kaiser, Pacific Southwest Air...

Eleven banks have voting rights to 39.1% of the common stock in CBS. Eight banks have voting rights to 34.1% of the common stock in ABC. Chase Manhattan and Bankers Trust together have voting rights to 19.8% of the stock in CBS and 17.4% of ABC. A third New York bank, Bank of New York, has voting rights to 7.2% of ABC stock and 3.3% of CBS stock.

From the above analysis, we see that the US mass media is owned and controlled by US monopoly capitalism. This control is strengthened by the fact that these same corporations provide the advertising revenues to make the media a very profitable business--\$10.8 billion in newspaper magazine, radio, and TV ads in 1968 and \$4 billion in television alone in 1972. Briefly, what does this control of the mass media by a small US ruling class mean? Clearly it influences the kind of information we receive over the media. One study reports that 60% of all newspaper space, 52% of all magazine space, 25% of all radio airtime and 22% of all television airtime is taken up by advertising. Another states that only 20% of the typical daily newspaper consists of local, national and international news.

There have been many discussions of the impact of the mass media on the Black community. In a recent position paper the Congressional Black Caucus stated, for example: *The mass media have failed miserably in reporting accurately and honestly the day to day news emanating from the black community. The media have failed miserably to adequately and accurately portray black people and black perspectives. The media and its allies have also failed to allow equal access to information necessary for full participation in a democratic society.* The above discussion of who owns and controls the mass media in this country--the monopoly corporations of US imperialism--should make it even clearer why the mass media has performed and continues to perform as it does. It is not in the interest of US monopoly capitalism and imperialism to allow a true picture of the lives of the masses of people--black, Asian, Chicano, Native American, Puerto Rican, white--to be presented in this country. Such truth would provide too great a push to the already on-going struggle of the people to end their exploitation and oppression at the hands of US imperialism. It is with this knowledge of US imperialism that we can more accurately discuss the role of the black media and its tasks in the Black Liberation Movement.

THE BLACK MEDIA

There are two aspects to black media, both reflecting the racism that is an inherent component of the rule of US imperialism. Cont. next page

perialism: black employment in the mass media and black ownership of mass media outlets. Black people--and women and other Third World people--are clearly excluded from employment and ownership in the media. The position paper of the Congressional Black Caucus has summed up the documentation on the question of employment. It reports that in the newspaper industry only 4.2% of all employees were black, and only 1.5% at the professional level (reporters etc.). In periodicals, only 7.3% are black with 2.5% at the professional level. Minority employment in public television dropped to 8% in 1971 from 12% in 1970. In the broadcast industry, blacks constitute only 2% of all officials and managers, 6% of all professionals, 3% of all sales workers, but 15% of the laborers and 46% of the service workers.

In terms of black ownership of media outlets, an identical pattern emerges. There are about 225 black newspapers in the US, only 4 dailies. Most are weeklies, and about 15% publish less than once a week. Of the 7,350 radio stations licensed in the US, just over 20 are black owned ('72) and about 360 are white-owned but "black format" or "black-oriented". (For example, arch-conservative William Buckley recently bought control of 3 black-oriented stations: WBOK in New Orleans, WLOK in Memphis and KYOK in Houston.) Until recently, no blacks have owned or controlled any of the 900 commercial television stations. Black groups in Detroit, Nashville, Washington and other cities have now gained ownership or control of television channels.

Amilcar Cabral, the assassinated forceful leader of PAIGC in the Independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau always urged his comrades: "Hide nothing from the masses of our people... tell no lies, mask no difficulties and claim no easy victories." This must be our watchword in the Black liberation movement and our work in the black media. The difficulties are indeed great. Black people have hardly penetrated the decision-making apparatus of the US mass media. The ownership of Black media outlets is quantitatively almost insignificant when stacked against the mass media outlets controlled by the ruling class of US monopoly capitalism: 1,750 daily newspapers, 900 television stations, over 3,000 cable systems serving over 5 million homes, and a vast complex of information monitoring, gathering and distribution that ties the entire system together into a coherent and powerful whole.

While the difficulties are great, there have been important successes and advances in the black media. Foremost is the long and militant history of black newspapers since the appearance of Russworm's Freedom's Journal (1827) and Douglass' North Star (1857). That black newspapers from slavery to the present have continued to fight for black liberation in the face of many obstacles is testimony to its strength and vitality. Most recently, important gains have been made in the acquisition of black radio and television stations in metropolitan areas where black people are concentrated. Another important advance is the success of the National Black Network (NBN). NBN is the first nationwide radio news network controlled by blacks and programmed for the black community. NBN has almost 70% of the national black community. In March '75, it is scheduled to initiate the NBN Wire Service to provide continuous information feed to radio, newspapers, magazines and television outlets.

The appearance of radio stations on several black college campuses, community-based stations like "Radio Free Georgia" (WRFG) in Atlanta and the growing influence of radical black papers like the African World are all significant. Finally, we can not underestimate the importance of the increasing number of serious and committed black people who are acquiring training and skills in communications, and are entering the mass media wanting to "do something for Black people."

As we set it, however, the pervasive strength and influence of US imperialism and its control over the US economy and the mass media makes the question of the quantity of the black media much less important than the quality of the work of the black media and black journalists. In other words, it is not a question of more black "Cronkites" or "Barbara Walters" and not the impossible goal of a black "CBS". What is important is that Black people in the media begin to play a more active and committed role as workers in the Black liberation movement--doing the right thing with what we got.

BLACK MEDIA & THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Given all of the above considerations, what is the role of the black media in the black liberation movement? The correct an-

swer cannot be "dreamed up", nor should it be expected to fall from the sky. The correct answer will come only by serious study of what the black liberation movement is about--what are the main forces from which black people must be liberated. A starting point in this analysis is the study of the concrete conditions of the masses of black people and a commitment of black journalists to unselfishly serve the masses in the struggle for liberation. (Ed. note: The original included a description of 1973-4's economic conditions for working people, esp. Black. These have worsened for 1975.)

Brother Gil Scott-Heron clearly and accurately sums up the point of this brief analysis in his powerful "HQ-gate Blues": we are "watching the price of everything soar and hearing complaints because the rich want more; the dollar is the only thing we can't inflate while the poor go on without a new minimum wage."

Two examples help us gain clarity on the role of the black journalist in today's struggle: the work of black journalists during the Great Depression and the role of journalists in revolutionary struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The present crisis can be compared to the earlier crisis of imperialism beginning in 1929, called the Great Depression. From 1929 to 1933, the US economy was almost 50% less productive, employment in non-agricultural industries had dropped by 9 million, unemployment rose from 3% to 25%, corporate profits dropped from \$10 billion to \$1 billion and the average hourly wage dropped to 44¢. For Blacks the situation was even worse with black unemployment persistently twice that of whites; 60% in Detroit and 35% in Houston (white rates were 32% and 18%). This racist attack on black workers was a well-designed and well-implemented policy to divide black and white workers and prevent a united struggle of all those who were suffering against their common exploiters.

What was the response of black journalists during this period? From T. Vincent's anthology, Voices of a Black Nation: Political Journalism in the Harlem Renaissance, we can review the work of black journalists and answer this question. George Padmore, an active journalist, sums up the clear understanding of most journalists during that period that a real and important problem existed, and that they had some notion of its basic causes. He said, "Never since the days of chattel slavery, when millions of black men and women were brutally torn from Africa and enslaved on the plantations and in the mines of the New World were Negro workers faced with such misery as today."

"Millions of these toilers and their families are starving in every town and village in Africa, America and the West Indies due to the greatest crisis which world capitalism has ever experienced."

Many of the important black leaders of this period actively sought "the power of the pen" to agitate for solutions to the problems of black people and which existed for the entire society.

DuBois' Crisis, The Messenger of A. Phillip Randolph and Chandler Owens, Cyril Briggs' Crusader and the Harlem Liberator, the Challenge of William Bridges, Garvey's Negro World, and Robert Abbott's Chicago Defender - by their activity and even by the militant ring of many of their names - tell us that black journalists saw themselves and their work as integrally linked with a militant black liberation struggle. They were outspoken in their views on many important issues--support for equal opportunity in all areas and full political rights, abolition of forced segregation, opposition to capitalism and imperialism, support for socialism and the radical political parties working to improve the conditions of black people, support for a militant trade union movement, opposition to the war, defense of black culture and many other aspects of the lives of black people which were under attack. Such strong opinions were not without consequences. For example, Cyril Briggs was fired from the Amsterdam News for an anti-war editorial he wrote in 1918. We are familiar with DuBois' trouble with the conservative leadership and sponsors of the NAACP, leading him to resign from Crisis in 1934.

Last, the black journalists during this period were very active in the black liberation movement. Some were actively involved as organizers for black organizations, others were in radical political parties, a few were teachers and researchers into the conditions of black people.

The role of journalists in the revolutionary struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America also provides ideas about the possible role of journalists in the black liberation movement. Some people question the importance of studying the struggles of oth-

er people to defeat the same US imperialism that we are struggling against. Amilcar Cabral tells us why the black liberation struggle is an integral part of the world anti-imperialist struggle:

"Imperialism is one, therefore the struggle against it is one, and our people are aware of this, even the children. We want all the world to be aware of this, so that all fronts of the struggle become stronger everyday and so we all work together for the active unity of the anti-imperialist forces, since the imperialist enemy knows how to maintain his unity in confronting all those who want to free themselves."

Kwame Nkrumah, another leader of Africa and former President of Ghana, was very clear on the role of the press in the struggle for African independence: "The truly African revolutionary Press does not exist merely for the purpose of enriching its proprietors or entertaining its readers. It is an integral part of our society with which its purposes are in consonance. Just as in the capitalist countries, the Press represents and carries out the purposes of capitalism, so in revolutionary Africa our revolutionary African Press must present and carry forward our revolutionary purpose; this is to establish a progressive political and economic system upon our continent that will free men from want and every form of injustice, enable them to work out their social and cultural destinies in peace and ease."

Expanding on the role of the journalist in Africa, Nkrumah included help "to defeat imperialism and hailing those who advance the revolution and exposing those who retard it." He concluded: "We do not believe there are necessarily two sides to every question; we see right and wrong, just and unjust, progressive and reactionary, positive and negative, friend and foe. We are partisan."

The theme of the journalist as an active participant in the anti-imperialist struggle emerges from Asia. Speaking to a conference of the International Organization of Journalists, Kim Il Sung, leader of the Korean people, told the delegates: "Progressive journalists of the 5 continents, wield your powerful revolutionary pen and sternly condemn US imperialism." He goes on to say, "The progressive journalists and progressive publications--the advocate and propagator of advanced ideas and the mouthpiece and organ of public opinion--play a very inspiring role in the social revolution and construction."

"When revolutionary consciousness of the popular masses is enhanced through the energetic writing activities of progressive journalists on the ideological front, they will fight more tenaciously to crush US imperialism, the heinous enemy of mankind."

"It is a true revolutionary task of the progressive journalists of the world to actively support the people in all regions and all countries in their struggle against the imperialist forces of aggression headed by the US imperialists."

From Latin America and the Caribbean comes a similar message. Meeting under the theme "for a militant and creative journalism," the 3rd Congress of the Journalists of Cuba in July 1974 adopted a final declaration which reflected their spirit of struggle for a better world: "Love of, dedication and faithfulness to the cause of the working class are indispensable prerequisites for journalists in our society."

"Those who have not plunged fully into the tasks of the creation of our new society cannot write about them. The journalist is not an idle spectator passively watching the world go by; rather he is an active participant in the happenings around him, having to mold them to his and others' benefit. As a part of the people, the journalist is an active protagonist of the Revolution."

"The chance to interpret the social reality in which we live, the ability to contribute to its revolutionary transformation by guiding and educating the masses and the moral authority to do this, are integral parts of the work of the journalists, and he functions only from the basis of a personal attitude of full identification with the revolutionary tasks, both in thought and action."

"Ours is an anti-imperialist press. We journalists are soldiers in the trench of the peoples that are struggling for their true independence and against all forms of national and class domination in any part of the world."

Such are the powerful messages of the journalists of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The effectiveness of their work, the depth of their commitment and the successes of their struggles for a better society is a tremendous challenge to all of us who work as journalists in the United States.

omic, political, or military trend or event, then we should carefully consider the length and vocabulary of the statement and attempt to match them with the habits of our target audience. The question of entertainment is equally important for art and entertainment, which must reflect the ever-changing situation, but retain its cultural basis and promote the national identification of African people in the U.S. Finally, the correct format for any situation can only be determined by knowing the people with whom and for whom you intend to work.

THE CONTENT OF REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA

Even before discussing the specific topic of any piece of propaganda, it is possible to identify the following characteristics as essential:

1. Revolutionary propaganda must emphasize the national character of our situation and promote unity among African people.
2. Revolutionary propaganda must include and emphasize the need for working class leadership of our struggle.
3. Revolutionary propaganda must advocate organized resistance by the masses by any means necessary.
4. Revolutionary propaganda must explain and provide suggested solutions to the concrete problems facing our African nation.
5. Revolutionary propaganda must connect long-range analysis and solutions to the day-to-day reality of our people.
6. Revolutionary propaganda must constantly identify and attempt to isolate our enemies (i.e. racism and imperialism).

In addition to the above characteristics, the following concepts need particular emphasis at this point in our struggle. We must explain that economic hierarchy in general, and capitalism specifically, are the structural basis of our oppression. As we identify these enemies we must endorse some form of socialist economics as the only alternative.

The question is not one of "isms" or some "foreign" model, but simply a matter of recognizing that with respect to economics there are basically two ways to organize a society. We must either endorse economic hierarchy or struggle for its eli-

bloodshed, war is politics with bloodshed." The most meaningful way to support Black Law (Black Law is a set of concepts developed by Black revolutionaries that outline a set of social relationships appropriate for developing revolutionary society. Included are such concepts as: collective decision-making, criticism/self criticism, social relationship between young and old and men and women, etc. The originators of the concept always assumed that these set of concepts, if implemented, would have to be defended militarily because they are in direct conflict with present police order.) and its defenders is to promote the realization that African people, in America and around the world, are at war. In this way, we can relate the inevitability of armed struggle in this country. Most importantly we must make the point that survival is at stake. If African people in this country do not unite, national genocide is our most likely future.

IMPLEMENTATION OF REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA

This section will touch upon two topics. Firstly, a brief list of suggestions in each of the propaganda categories mentioned in the discussion of forms. Secondly, a comment on the implications of undertaking revolutionary propaganda work. Print is a key area of propaganda in which we should attempt to develop maximum self-reliance. A used ditto machine is a good investment and shouldn't be too hard to locate. A mimeograph is one step better. We should cultivate access to Xerox machines through schools, hospitals, and businesses. An offset press is probably too expensive to be worthwhile unless manpower and priorities make it possible to develop a printing operation that will serve other community groups on a non-commercial basis. A commercial printing operation, like any attempt to run a "revolutionary" business in monopoly capitalistic America, will probably be consumed by its inherent contradictions.

Every African community should have a newspaper that it owns and controls. Because a revolutionary political posture may cut advertising and all support from the (Black) business community--to zero, we should be prepared to start with a ser-

group teaching situations. We should take advantage of the films available to us through organizations such as Newsreel and Tri-Continental Films (Berkeley). It should not be difficult to locate a teacher in the community who will borrow projectors and other equipment through her or his school. The ultimate aim in this area of work (as in others) is self-reliance. As always, we should start from the ground and work up. Film production is readily within our grasp if we avoid a "Hollywood" mentality. A Kodak Super-8 movie camera can be purchased for less than twenty dollars. Slide shows accompanied by music or speech (taped or live) are also powerful.

Audio Propaganda consists mainly of recordings of speeches, interviews, conversations, etc. Such recordings are always good for purpose of education and documentation. Cassette tape recorders are readily available in most Black communities. People working in schools and department stores can often provide tapes. Speeches and interviews should also be transcribed and distributed in printed form. Car caravans through the community using portable public address systems are also an effective means of publicizing rallies, demonstrations, etc.

Propaganda through Art and Entertainment should be consolidated around a cultural center in every African community. The range of propaganda work in this area is limited only by our initiative and creativity. The key to effective work through this medium is to develop a core group of people who can synthesize and project the day-to-day realities of our lives and our struggle.

In the commercial electronics media, we will probably remain limited to three tactics: (1) infiltrate production and broadcast organizations at whatever levels possible, (2) manipulate bourgeois news coverage, based on our knowledge of its counter-revolutionary motive, and (3) exploit the political contradictions in the media (e.g., "liberal-conservative"), understanding that these contradictions are clearly secondary to those that pit us against the bourgeois media as a whole.

The ruling class will not sit idly by if revolutionaries can successfully put out the above type of propaganda. All the repressive machinery of the state will be brought to bear on those who attempt to help our people for revolutionary struggle. History has proven this. Johnson said that one of his only two mistakes was not instituting censorship. Under the increasingly fascist Nixon regime, continued with Ford, censorship of even the bourgeois press has become commonplace. Fascism will quickly force all truly revolutionary propaganda underground. The alternative to not going underground when the conditions warrant will be the destruction of the revolutionary propaganda machine.

Therefore, there are three areas where people must scientifically prepare if they wish to engage in revolutionary propaganda:

1. Their propaganda must reach the level where our people will protect it because they realize that the propaganda is vital to their interests.
2. We must be prepared to defend our propaganda and program.
3. We must be able to submerge ourselves among our people as a fish swims in the sea.

CONCLUSION

Lastly, we must be clear on the historical role of propaganda teams. In China, they became an integral part of the Red Army; in Vietnam they were the basis of the National Liberation Army. In the United States, propaganda units will link up with other cadre collectives to form a Black revolutionary party guided by revolutionary science (Marxism-Leninism). Propaganda cadres and organizations should be striving with all other comrades to build such a party. A revolutionary party to coordinate all revolutionary work and lead the people in struggle is the key element missing from our struggle. In the meantime we must diversify and popularize our propaganda work to make it as effective as possible. Revolutionary Propagandists have a key role to play in the Black Liberation struggle. We must bring the message of revolution to our people, subvert the enemy and teach each other the science and practice of revolution. We must be competent if our people are to win.

A LUTA CONTINUA
POPULARIZE REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA
BUILD A BLACK REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



Illustration by Vietnamese artist for a story written by Ho Chi Minh in 1922. The story was written to teach Vietnamese people about the national liberation struggles of Africa.

mination. The concept of socialist revolution must be brought together with the reality of our national oppression and national struggle. Among cadre and advanced activists these two forms should be expanded by using the concepts of dictatorship of the proletariat and war of national liberation. In a struggle where the great majority of our people are working class, the ultimate form of socialism that will guarantee true freedom and power for the workers is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Struggles in which national oppression is the key element, the organizational forms of the national liberation war (National United Front, National Liberation Org., etc) are most appropriate. The separation of these concepts for purpose of "ideological debate" has left each of them incapable of guiding our struggle alone.

We must also explain and support the actions of our brothers and sisters who are struggling the military level. We must clarify the relationship between political and military struggle, making

ies of leaflets, the regular newsletters, and then a newspaper, but only after some degree of stability has been achieved. Among the most important aspects of a revolutionary community publication is its consistency. It is also important that local communities make inputs into progressive African publications that receive broader circulation such as The African World and Muhammad Speaks. As printing capacity develops, posters, and then pamphlets can be produced and distributed. Posters should be put up with the intention that they stay long enough to be seen. Use wheat paste or evaporated milk, being careful not to antagonize community residents by "defacing" their property.

In using the bourgeois print media, contacts are the most important thing. We should identify people in key positions and maintain favorable, on-going relations with them. Press conferences should be called only when absolutely necessary. If you call one that is judged "unnewsworthy" by the bourgeois media, you can expect little or no coverage of the next one.

Cont. from Pg. 8

6) To provide support and information on P.O.W./prisoner struggles.

US society has made many people "criminals" under its laws. Many are guilty of being poor, jobless, non-white and/or unwilling to starve and beg. We say the imprisonment of people for these reasons is a vicious crime itself. The exposure and prosecution of those who benefit from this crime against the people is necessary for the formation of a better society. The struggle of the victims of this crime is an integral part of that process.

Other POW's are political prisoners - those whose spirit, thought, leadership and actions among the people were so great a threat to things as they are that the rulers of this country felt it necessary to forcibly separate them from the people. We must support these comrades.

STT understands that in the prisons as everywhere else, contradictions among the oppressed exist. The prisons try to enforce a more vicious atmosphere of dog-eat-dog individualism and gang mentality than elsewhere in this society. We hope our principled support and consistent information of POW struggles will help overcome those conditions. STT has tried to develop working ties with prisoners and support committees.

Lastly we have tried to emphasize that the struggle in the prison should be linked to community struggles and the over-all movement towards revolution. Important individual struggles can be won only by involving the people and connecting that struggle to other struggles. Indeed, the entire prison system can only be abolished by the establishment of a new society.

7) To provide dialectical criticism, support and information on the clandestine movement within the US.

We believe what Dharuba Moore says, "Either it (revolutionary armed struggle) is supported everywhere, or it is not supported at all". It is hypocritical to support armed struggle only in Africa or Indochina or Uruguay. We cannot ignore the attacks of US imperialism on the lives and welfare of people here. We cannot ignore its attempts to destroy revolutionary mass movements.

STT has set aside a section called "Messages to the People". This has included communiques on the political reasons for clandestine actions, denials and denouncements of certain actions and political statements from clandestine organizations. In the past we have been careless in stating why we included some articles and in investigating the effect actions had on mass organizing. Our readers have pointed this deficiency to us. We will be trying to preface articles with explanations and explain more fully our view of different clandestine organizations and actions. However, we are also reluctant to make statements if we think we do not know enough. We cannot and will not reject or condemn violent clandestine action out of hand.

8) To provide support and information for the liberation of women.

Women are half of humanity. They cannot be held back while the struggle against other forms of oppression moves forward. US imperialism often directs its attacks on TW and poor people against the women - sterilization, welfare, birth control, prostitution, drugs and US military-sanctioned rape and prostitution. As a result, women are also prominent among our freedom-fighters. Everyone can learn from their determination, leadership and love for the people.

When STT first started publishing, there was no separate section on the liberation of women. A letter from a reader criticized this "oversight". It was actually a political error. The staff unanimously agreed to start the section "From the Sisters". We are very happy we did so. Many anti-imperialist women organizers have been able to contribute, make useful criticisms and mutually develop a better understanding of the relationship of women's organizations and struggles to the overall movement and to national liberation struggles.

STT has also tried to increase recognition of the differences between the conditions of struggle for white women and TW women. We have been consciously trying to resolve the problems created when people mistakenly make those differences into contradictions by trying to ignore them. For example, white feminists in general battle for birth control and abortion as the right of women to control their own lives rather than men or institutional religion. But TW women often oppose sterilization, birth

control and abortion programs as a conscious government attack on their people's existence.

Both positions are correct in the specific situation. Applying one solution to both situations is what produces antagonisms.

These are the principles "Seize the Time" has developed and applied over the past year. They are the basis for understanding our relationship to other forms of propaganda and other forms of organization, and our future direction.

SEIZE THE TIME'S RELATION TO OTHER PAPERS

1) Community Newsletters

STT as a newspaper does not exist in a vacuum. In fact, we depend on the existence of other kinds of revolutionary news media. Organizers should try to develop local community newsletters to distribute to all the people they work with. Our paper is not meant to be a mass paper in its focus, distribution or language. STT would like to receive community papers because we use them to provide examples of struggle and organization to other organizers. A number of these papers from different regions also gives us an over-all perspective of the movement.

2) National Liberation Newspapers

STT also thinks that specific national liberation struggles should develop nationwide newspapers for their people. An example of sorts would be "Muhammad Speaks" for Black people, except with revolutionary politics. These papers would be most likely published by the national united front, just as South Vietnam in Struggle is published by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF/SVN). Such papers would help tie together the national movement in various cities and regions. They would be able to give much more emphasis to specific conditions, analysis and strategy of that nation than a paper like STT. They would also reach more people of that nation than would a paper like STT, including advanced and middle people as well as cadre and organizers.

3) The White Revolutionary Movement

A similar relationship would exist between a paper like STT and white revolutionary papers published by essentially all white cadre organizations. The newly announced "Osawatomie" of the Weather Underground is such a paper.

A paper like STT would also be necessary to provide white organizers with a grasp of what TW movements are doing, written by TW people, and vice versa.

RELATION OF PAPER TO POLITICAL ORGANIZING

1) Cadre Organizations and Parties

STT is not officially affiliated with any established cadre organization. We encourage the formation of national liberation parties and white cadre organizations. We want our staff members to join such organizations or be sent by the organizations, and represent those organizations' political views in the paper. In the future we would like to see such a paper become affiliated with a joint council of various organizations.

Our staff at this point includes people who have been in early forms of cadre organizations and people who are now engaged in collectives of serious revolutionaries in various kinds of mass work. All of our staff do various kinds of mass organizing including national liberation movements, trade union, workplace, prison, women's movement and coalitions on specific issues. Although it has been difficult, and we have not always succeeded, we have tried to be democratic and flexible with the basic political principles of the paper. We have and will continue to print articles that include different strategic approaches to the revolution.

STT has really felt the need to work with cadre organizations, particularly those representative of national liberation movements. We have made political mistakes, mostly of omission, because we are lacking consistent input. This has been particularly evident with the Chicano/Mexicano movement. For example, in our articles on organization we did not take into account the history of organizing of Chicanos and Mexicanos. We did not recognize the relative independence of that movement from events such as the split in the Black Panther Party which did heavily affect both Black and white revolutionary movements.

2) National Liberation United Fronts and Mass Organizing

We encourage the formation of national liberation fronts within the US. STT's rela-

tionship to United Fronts would be indirect as we are a theoretical journal aimed at cadre level organizers. We encourage the formation of national liberation papers written by the political organization of the UF.

We also recognize that there are forms of organizing on specific issues that cross national lines based on working class leadership, ie. economic issues, labor and union work, prisoner struggles, military organizing. (These issues include organizing on national lines as well.) In these struggles we hope to:

1. Sum up conditions and practice.
2. From that develop practical theory
3. In order to propose over-all strategy
4. Encourage practical unity/alliances through this work.

3) Organization within Seize the Time

The principle feature of organization within STT is the formation of a TW staff and a white staff. Each has developed workteams to help with production, distribution, contributions and criticism of the paper. The separate teams have allowed us to really pay close attention to developing specific aspects of national liberation struggles and the white working class movement. We feel that this has enabled STT to avoid the vagueness and idealistic generality of newspapers put out by multinational cadre organizations based on the "unity of the whole multinational working class".

STT is faced with other kinds of problems. Mostly, it has been difficult at times to coordinate the practical activities of the staffs and find time for both work in specific movements and the paper. It has required dedication when enthusiasm falls to a low point. However, these problems can be worked out by practice.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

1) Political content

In working with organizers STT finds that the more general theoretic articles have been helpful, but we now must go further. Specifically, we have been asked to focus more on mass organizing in line with the rising tide of popular struggles. We intend to make our content more issue/problem oriented to help organizers and activists. This includes planning the central theme of the paper 2 and 3 issues in advance. It includes announcing those themes in preceding issues to give people a chance to make well-thought out contributions.

Besides the central theme of each issue, specific sections of the paper need strengthening - "From the Sisters" and "Class Struggle". We need to develop more ties with organizers in those areas and really be more conscious of political content.

2) Organizational Objectives

Two major weaknesses now are our inconsistent and unsystematic publishing and distribution. Both really hold back what we feel to be essentially good political content. What good is content if it doesn't reach people? This whole area of distribution will be STT's major focus in the coming period of practice:

"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer. In this respect it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labour."

LENIN

FROM THE EDITORS OF SEIZE THE TIME

SEIZE THE TIME is available on a subscription basis. Please send requests and letters to:

Occupant
P.O. BOX 14245
Santa Barbara, Calif.
93107

Subscription rates are:

12 issues - - - - \$3.50
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Please send blank money orders for amount of purchase. Please do not send checks. SEIZE THE TIME is free to prisoners. Thank you.

We ask that people and organizations consider exchanging, subscribing and/or distributing papers. We welcome news reports from peoples' struggles, articles, letters, poems, artwork and cartoons.

PROPAGANDA AND PEOPLES' WAR

--Written by the IRA, 1954

Successful guerrilla operations involve the people. It is the quality of their resistance to the enemy and support for the guerrillas which in the end will be the decisive factor. The guerrillas are the spearhead of the people's resistance.

In fact, a guerrilla force will be unable to operate in an area where the people are hostile to its aims. And it must be remembered always that it is the people who will bear the brunt of the enemy's retaliatory measures.

Accordingly there should be constant contact and coordination between the guerrillas and the local population. This can be done by:

(1) Recruiting volunteers for columns from population of territory in which the column is operating.

(2) Use of civil political committees among the people whose function it would be to agitate against the oppressor, get new members for guerrillas, organize supplies for columns, provide transportation for guerrillas, lead the people in a campaign of active and passive resistance to enemy occupation.

(3) Have guerrilla agents working among civilian population collecting information for the army.

(4) Use of part-time guerrillas who would continue in civilian occupations yet be available for active service when called on. Thus local companies would be built up and used as reserves when the occasion warranted.

(5) Build up liaison between guerrillas and people until such time as it was perfect. When the people suffer under enemy oppression for aiding the guerrillas the latter would help and protect the people.

INFORMATION

To build up the resistance of the people to the required pitch needs more than guerrilla activity. The aims of the movement must be popularised, the objectives clearly stated, and the world must be informed of what is happening and why.

This type of information is actually good education too. Part of the education

Information must be factual to build up confidence among the people in the national movement. What it must do is this:

(1) Give the people tenacity to stand up to the enemy by showing them the struggle is worth while and necessary.

They must be made aware that the national struggle will be victorious in the end—but that the end depends on them.

(2) Get world public opinion behind the just fight of the people.

(3) Undermine the enemy's morale and his propaganda by exposing his methods and by constant emphasis on the unjustness of his cause.

(4) Be the spiritual main spring of those actively engaged in the national movement so that they understand the need to destroy the enemy and his power forever.

METHODS

The main channels of information available to the guerrillas are newspapers, leaflets, radio, word of mouth. Other methods may be worked out and new ones invented. For example: Painting of slogans, proclamations and manifestos and so on.

All the means of winning the confidence of the people must be utilized. The ideas of the movement must be so popularized that no one is in doubt—least of all the



WOMEN MARCHING IN NORTHERN IRELAND

process is countering the enemy's propaganda. The basic idea is that the guerrilla education campaign must be continuous, must beat the enemy at his propaganda game and just expose his lies to the people and indeed to the whole world.

This end of the guerrilla operations is

**AN UNARMED PEOPLE
IS SUBJECT TO SLAVERY
AT ANY TIME**



"Three For One"

no less important than the destruction of enemy resources and bases. enemy—that it will win eventually.

This information service must function continuously to get maximum results. Among the things it must do are:

(1) Show weakness of enemy position and propaganda used to bolster that position.

(2) Show what is wrong with political and social order.

(3) Suggest remedies and how they can be brought about.

(4) Be in touch all the time with the thinking of the people.

ACCURACY

The guerrillas' information service will be judged on its accuracy. It must tell the people exactly what is required of them. It must show that the guerrilla movement is all-knowing, all-powerful, a part of the people's life—the people are a part of it.

Its broadcasting must be so interesting that friend and foe alike tune in. This rule applies to all information media.

The information service of the guerrilla command should work in close liaison with intelligence so that information is up to the minute and accurate and yet does not give away information to the enemy.

It would also independently collect and evaluate and distribute its own information. The world has to be informed of what is happening for it will be basic enemy policy to shut off all contact between the movement and the rest of the world.

The world must know and understand what is being done, what the enemy is trying to destroy and why, and the way these things can be ended and peace restored and freedom won.

CULTURAL WORKER'S FRONT (cont. from Pg.15)

and sexist) to speak to the white working class than TW cultural workers can use white culture to speak to the masses of TW people.

The form and dynamics of class struggle in the US is different for different nationalities. The immediate needs and present consciousness of white and TW people differ markedly. For instance, for a Black community to demand a school's name be changed to Martin Luther King and be controlled by the Black community not only is progressive, but would be (and has been) a vigorous movement that includes several classes. These struggles are aimed at the deteriorating physical condition of schools, poor teaching, irrelevant and racist lesson material, police entrapment and harassment of students and the colonial administration of white school officials.

On the other hand, a proposal to change the name of a white community's school to Joe Hill, John Brown or Bill Haywood would probably fall on deaf ears (this can change in the future). No such struggle has yet happened. The demand for community control of schools in white working class communities has almost always been a cover for white racism against Black children being bused to formerly all white schools. Class struggle in this case means combatting white racism, identifying and denouncing white racist leaders (like Louis Day Hicks) and profiteers like politicians as the enemy and introducing working class internationalism.

In the Black community's struggle, correct class struggle in this case means uniting all possible classes against colonial institutions and neo-colonial lackeys (like Newark's mayor, Gibson). To apply the same slogans, the same immediate goals and the same style of work to both Black and white communities would be disastrous. It would demonstrate the lack of understanding class contradictions in a scientific way.

In cultural work the same need for

sound analysis of concrete conditions applies. TW cultural workers recognize certain similarities in their national struggles. On the basis of these politics a TW caucus formed.

Class Stand and Cultural Work

The petite bourgeois view of art seriously hampers our work. Art in the US is taught to people as an individual act of expression, a luxury of the rich, the property of a talented elite. Art is viewed as intensely personal, not affected by politics, class or national boundaries. It has no purpose or effect except esthetic.

The members of the Cultural Workers' Front recognize that this view of culture and art is a product of the ruling class and that it hinders the liberation of all poor and working people. Yet most cultural workers in the struggle come from middle class, petite bourgeois backgrounds with artistic training of a similar nature. In our work there is always a tendency to slide back into bourgeois thinking. There is always a class struggle.

The petite bourgeois mentality of many cultural workers also hinders building the structure of the Frente. Instead of trying to understand the conditions and come to correct political decisions, we find ourselves voting on bureaucratic details and voting according to feelings on major political questions. Establishing the TW caucus without a majority vote by everybody was a major struggle. While the unilateral decision to form a caucus by TW cultural workers was correct in content, we failed to adequately explain the political reasons to whites until after the fact. Many viewed it as dictatorship by a minority - failing to understand it as part of the class struggle against imperialism by TW people. Certainly if those in leadership of the caucus do not attempt always to bring broader numbers of TW people into the caucus and the Frente, the TW caucus will become an elitist clique bearing no relationship to struggle.

What We Should Do In the Frente

As communists working in the Cultural Workers' Front, we should aim towards strengthening the Third World caucus and building a white caucus. First, they would provide the Frente with structure it badly needs. Unless the Frente is well organized, the best cultural workers (who have the least time to spend in mass meetings) will not be able to participate.

Second, the caucuses would provide the Frente with structure that emphasizes the political tasks of cultural workers in this country. Because of the division of the working class along national lines, some types of work and study need to be done separately to be effective while others must be done jointly. The caucuses would allow the development of TW and white working class leadership capable of working separately and jointly.

Communists within the TW caucus should help organize the study of scientific socialism and promote proletarian internationalism by supporting working class leadership of their national movements. Communists in the white caucus should get white cultural workers to work with their working class to fight racism and awaken their consciousness of being workers. The best way to support an ally against US imperialism is to build your own struggle against it.

Solving the political and organizational problems of the Frente will help us carry out the main purposes of the Frente which are, "First, to produce work that attempts to create a culture for a mass movement against imperialism; seeing our work as coming out of the actual struggles of Third World and working people against imperialism and to reflect these to a broad audience. Secondly, to gain further understanding of the nature of imperialist culture and to develop people's culture to combat this dominant imperialist culture."





INDOCHINA • world revolution



The staff of SEIZE THE TIME wishes to express our joy and deeply felt congratulations to the Khmer and Vietnamese people, their revolutionary governments and liberation forces on their most recent victories. Everyday brings a new advance. Unfortunately, the American media has chosen to pay much more attention to the "orphan" snatch of South Vietnamese and Cambodian children than to events in the newly liberated zones or to the actions of the revolutionary governments. While the news media here keeps saying "grim" and "tragic" news, we strain to catch each victory and hope to present a truer picture of events.

The American media has paid much attention to the refugees. There are two kinds of refugees. A small number would do well to flee from the liberation forces. They include military, government and police officials of Thieu's regime and wealthy war-profiteers (often one and the same). Just as Thieu tried to steal away South Vietnam's gold reserves (16 tons) to Switzerland under the cover of "personal belongings", so this kind of refugee attempts to escape under the cover of being "ordinary citizens" afraid of the communists.

Other people flee simply to get away from the frontlines of fighting. Most news reporters (not editors) say these people account for most of the refugees.

On the other hand, there is very sketchy reporting of the people who stayed to greet the liberation forces. This is despite the presence of Yugoslavian, Japanese and even French news agencies and reports from the liberated zones. It is clear, however, that many people were in the streets of Phnom Penh, Hue, Da Nang, etc. to wave flags, cheer and sing when the Khmer Rouge and PLAF marched into the cities and villages.

Before they arrived, refugees had swollen these cities, food and water were scarce, ARVN (Thieu's) troops in Vietnam looted, raped and killed civilians in frustration, drunken rage and fear. All municipal services had broken down.

The liberation forces restored civil order, re-opened medical units (including Duy Tan General, SVN's second largest hospital) and restored power and water. They distributed food and water. UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) has monitored distribution of relief supplies to Da Nang. Many

governments around the world are also donating emergency relief supplies to the liberated zones. The International Red Cross reported food distributions in Viet Nam and also said that the Khmer Rouge have respected the neutrality of a security zone for non-combatants it set up in the Hotel le Phnom.

In Da Nang thousands of workers went to the newly opened offices of the Da Nang Liberation Trade Union Federation to join. Transport workers and other citizens cleaned up streets and removed barricades. In all cities and towns, people's revolutionary committees and militia have been established to consolidate and protect reconstruction.

All this should come as no surprise. The Khmer Rouge and NLF forces are not conquering armies invading other people's lands. They represent decades of political struggle against imperialism and oppression. By the time they entered Phnom Penh and Vietnam's provincial capitals, many clandestine and open mass organizations had firmly established themselves. Students and teachers, workers and religious groups held demonstrations many demonstrations against Lon Nol's corruption and U.S. support in Phnom Penh months before his departure. In Da Nang, Hue, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Binh Thuan (still disputed), Binh Tuy, Bien Hoa (near Saigon) etc., and even Saigon itself, people's organization have actively upheld the Peace Accords, denounced Thieu and support reconciliation and reunion. Some of the many organizations include:

- The National Reconciliation Force
- The People's Front Against Famine
- The People's Movement Against Corruption
- The People's Organization for the Implementation of the Paris Agreement
- The Viet Nam General Confederation of Labor
- The Association for the Protection of Human and Civil Rights
- The Buddhist Committee for Release of Political Prisoners.

The recent military victories of the liberation forces truly rest upon the desires and struggles of the popular masses.

HAIL THE VICTORIES OF THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES
DOWN WITH US IMPERIALISM AND ALL ITS LACKIES
PEACE WITH INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM



FINE WEATHER
by HO CHI MINH

The wheel of nature turns without pause
After the rain, good weather
In the wink of an eye
The universe throws off its muddy clothes
For ten thousand miles
The landscape spreads out
like a beautiful brocade

Light breezes
Smiling flowers
High in the trees
Amidst the sparkling leaves
All the birds sing at once
People and animals rise up reborn
What could be more natural?
After sorrow, comes joy.

FIGHT OPERATION TARBABY

WASHINGTON D.C. - April 19th, President Kaunda of Zambia in his toast at a White House state dinner surprised Gerald Ford with a statement on the southern African conflict. Usually the politics of liberation and war are not discussed at these "polite" state dinners. But Kaunda used the opportunity to warn that "southern Africa is poised for a dangerous armed conflict," and asked that the US end its considerable support of white minority governments in order to preserve peace.

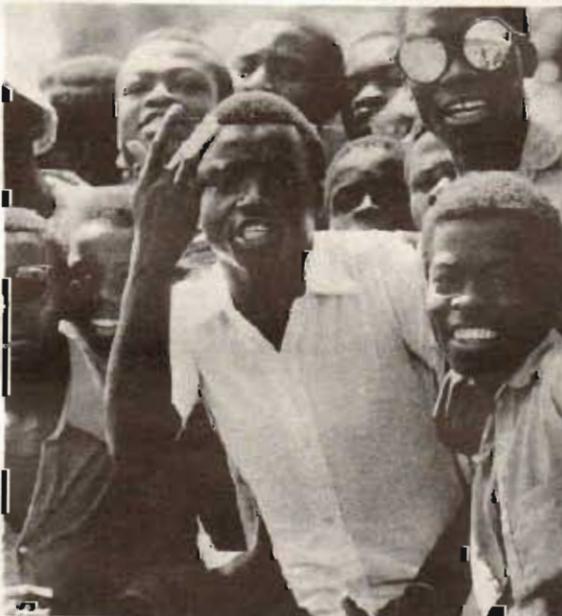
The U.S. currently has about \$1 billion of investments in South Africa. It also has supplied \$362 million of aircraft and \$11 million of chemical poisons to aid white regimes' suppression of African liberation struggles. "Operation Tarbaby" is a combined military and diplomatic strategy to support South Africa and Rhodesia in order to insure continued U.S. domination of the strategic tip of Africa.

The U.S. has also quietly supported South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia (formerly South West Africa). In an imperialist redivision of the world, South Africa had been granted "trusteeship" of Namibia by a 1915 League of Nations decree. In 1968, the UN nullified that agreement, but South Africa has refused to allow UN officials to enter Namibia.

OAU CONFERENCE

DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA - The organization of African Unity (OAU) ended a 42-nation, 4-day conference on April 11th. The major focus of that meeting was the liberation struggles of southern Africa against the South African and Rhodesian white minority regimes. Zambia Foreign Minister, Mwaanga stated, "Our objective has always been to achieve majority rule by peaceful means if possible and by armed struggle if necessary" South Africa had agreed to withdraw all of its over 2,000 man military force from Rhodesia by June.

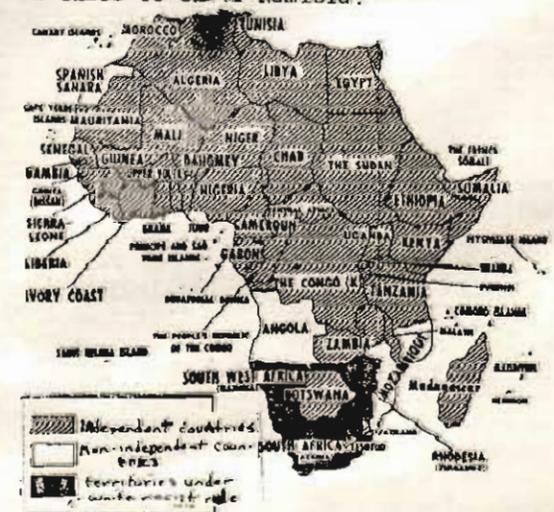
However negotiations to peacefully achieve black majority rule have not gone well. Rhodesia's Ian Smith and South Africa's Vorster have repeatedly broken agreements with liberation organizations. The four liberation organization of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) are the African National Council (ANC), Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), Zimbabwe Liberation Front (FROLIZI) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Last December 7th, all four declared the formation of united movement against Ian Smith's regime. In the face of this terrifying development, Smith immediately proposed peaceful negotiations for the transfer of power over a period of time. He released Ndabaningi Sithole, ZANU's chair, and Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU's chair from long imprisonment. He also promised to release all political prisoners (African nationalists) and abolish his ban on liberation organizations in order to hold a constitutional conference with liberation leaders.



International Worker's Day in the People's Republic of the Congo

But on March 4th, Sithole was re-arrested by Smith's government, and on March 18th, Chitepo, another ZANU leader was murdered. Mugabe, ZANU's General Secretary, Mazorewa, ANC's chair and the OAU all denounced these actions. The liberation organizations declared there will be no negotiations until Sithole is released and other promises are met.

As the Zimbabwe News pointed out, "People's freedom cannot be won at the negotiation table, but can be realized only by overthrowing the oppressors and their system through violent struggle."



FROM THE SISTERS

FORCED STERILIZATION

Last year, a doctor told a group of physicians in training at a Southern California county hospital, as part of their initiation into obstetrics: "I want you to ask every one of the girls if she wants her tubes tied, regardless of how old she is. Remember, every one who says yes to getting her tubes tied means two tubes (practice) for some resident or intern and less work for some poor son-of-a-bitch next year."



Minnie and Mary Alice Relf, sterilized by a clinic that operated on OEO funds.

When the story of the coerced sterilization of two black girls, Minnie and Mary Alice Relf of Montgomery, Alabama became public, many people began to wonder what was behind such a criminal action...why 12 and 14 year-old black girls?

The father of the Relf girls filed a \$1,000,000 damage suit against the federal government and the Montgomery clinic that sterilized his daughters. The clinic that performed the operation on Minnie and Mary Alice had used U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity funds. The father charged that his daughters were sterilized without fully understanding what was being done to them. The clinic denied the charge, but the case revealed that the federal government was involved in funding such sterilizations without written guidelines governing the operations.

As more and more people researched into the situation, more horror stories of the same type began to surface. What was once called paranoia has become documented reality.

In 1973 in Aiken, South Carolina, an obstetrician by the name of Clovis Pierce sterilized 18 women on welfare, 16 of them black. The nurse from his office told reporters: "The policy of Dr. Pierce's office is, was, and always will be that any woman with two or more children and on welfare will have to submit to voluntary sterilization if she wants to be taken care of here." Pierce's nurse neglected to mention that he is the only obstetrician in the entire county that accepts Medicaid patients.

The acting director of the OB/GYN department at a municipal hospital in New York City stated: "In most major teaching hospitals, it is the unwritten policy to do elective hysterectomies on poor black and Puerto Rican women, with minimal indications, to train residents. At least 10% of this surgery is done on this basis. And 90% of this is done on black and Puerto Rican women."

The U.S. government, through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW)

is a major source of funds for "voluntary" sterilizations. Since the 1966 passage of Medicaid, HEW has been funding sterilizations for poor women who cannot afford to pay for a private doctor. Although HEW has not kept accurate statistics before 1973, it estimates that in 1973 alone between 100,000 and 200,000 poor women were sterilized. While in recent years the money for HEW-financed child care centers, Head Start programs has been cut, in the period 1969-1974 the budget for family planning has increased from \$51 million to over \$250 million.

For foreign countries, the U.S. government finances population control projects through the Agency for International Development (AID). This money is used for research on new population control methods. Just as HEW money for population programs has increased, so too has AID money increased. From \$35 million in 1968, AID funds grew to \$125 million in 1973.

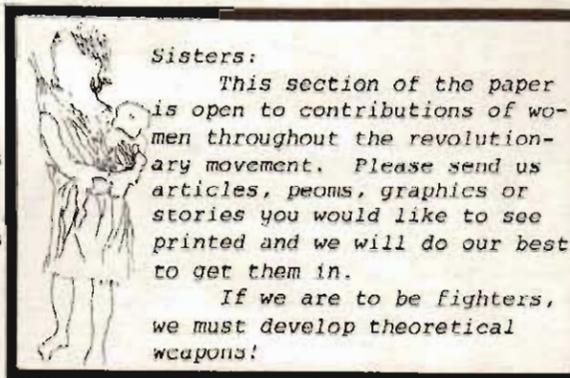
When a woman "consents" to sterilization in order to avoid having her family cut off welfare, the consent is not voluntary. It is forced. When a woman is not given proper gynecological care when something is wrong and the disease progresses to such an extent that hysterectomy is the only treatment, this is forced sterilization. When a child is judged mentally defective, sterilized and not told of the operation, this too, is forced sterilization. For those who think that fascism ended with the Nuremberg trials of the men who were willing to go to any lengths to build a blond, blue-eyed master race, it is worth hearing doctors who speak of "fewer, better babies" as they sterilize poor and Third World women.

The following are excerpts from the speech made by Huang Shu-tse, leader of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations World Population Conference.

"Over the past few decades, along with the development of the political and economic situation in the world, there has been a fairly rapid population growth in the Third World. The Third World now has a population of nearly 3 billion, which is more than 70% of the world's population.

"Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Once the people take their destiny into their own hands, they will be able to perform miracles. People as workers and as creator and user of tools is the decisive factor in the social productive forces. People are in the first place producers and only in the second place consumers. Historically, the valiant, industrious, and talented people of Asia, Africa and Latin America made outstanding contributions to human civilization. But over a considerable period of time, the colonialists and imperialists subjected the Asian, African, and Latin American countries to brutal aggression and enslavement. They not only plundered enormous social wealth from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but also engaged in human traffic and evicted or slaughtered local inhabitants. Africa alone has lost as many as 100 million people in this way... The population of some countries and nations declined drastically, and large tracts of land were laid waste. After prolonged and heroic struggles waged by the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, a large number of countries in these regions won political independence and achieved marked progress in developing their national economy and culture as compared with the past. Along with this the population has grown rather quickly. This is not at all a bad thing but a very good thing.

"The superpowers raise the false alarm of a "population explosion" and paint a depressing picture for the future of the world. This reminds us of the notorious Malthus, who, more than 170 years ago, when the population of the world was less than a billion, raised a hue and cry about "over-population" and the impossibility for the growth of production ever to catch up with that of the population. Today, the world population has more than quadrupled that of Malthus' time, but there has been much greater increase in the material wealth of society, thanks to the efforts of the broad masses of the people in surmounting



Sisters:

This section of the paper is open to contributions of women throughout the revolutionary movement. Please send us articles, poems, graphics or stories you would like to see printed and we will do our best to get them in.

If we are to be fighters, we must develop theoretical weapons!

numerous obstacles.

"At present, there is in many countries a population problem which finds its concrete expression in unemployment, poverty, starvation, a high mortality rate, etc.

"The condition of the population of a country is determined by its social system and the political and economic conditions prevailing at home and internationally. Is it owing to over-population that unemployment and poverty exist in many countries today? No, absolutely not. It is mainly due to aggression, plunder and exploitation by the imperialists, particularly the superpowers. The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today and the chief culprits in the world. In our opinion, the primary way of solving the population problem lies in combating the aggression and plunder by the imperialists, colonialists, and neo-colonialists, particularly the superpowers, breaking down the unequal international economic relations, winning and safeguarding international independence, and developing the national economy and culture independently and self-reliantly in the light of each country's specific conditions and differing circumstances and raising the living standards of people...."



"Of all the things in the world, people are the most precious," is reflected in the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese people.

FIGHTING BACK IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST

The Third World Women's Alliance in New York sees the need for a Third World women's organization to organize a mass campaign in this country to expose the medical and legal atrocities which are being used against women in an effort to control and eliminate the birth rate of the poor in this country. It's easier for the United States to blame the ills of this country on over-population of a segment of its inhabitants than it is to deal with the real social and economic problems that imperialism creates.

The Third World Women's Alliance is asking any sisters who are interested in and concerned with working on the medical and legal aspects of a sterilization project, or who have instances of women who have been "voluntary" sterilized to join them in a project to expose and change the situation. Contact:

Marilyn Aguirre
Third World Women's Alliance
26 West 20th Street
New York, New York 10011

In Los Angeles The Committee to Stop Forced Sterilizations is a group of women and men who are organizing to expose and put an end to forced sterilization. They support the right of women to birth control, including sterilization, but oppose the use of birth control as a weapon against poor people. They can be contacted by writing:

Community Law Offices
2212 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90026

THE ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN

1. THE PROBLEM

Black Women in today's cities are still the most exploited and oppressed of the working class. Black Women must still work chiefly as domestics (maids), and their family incomes rarely meet survival levels. At the same time, women must bear the children, care for them, do the household chores, and many times work to help keep the family going. Black Women are constantly reminded of the reality that their children will remain enslaved, for the schools in the Black Community are purposely designed to ensure it. "If you're born in a poor family, you will live in a poor neighborhood, go to a poor school, get a poor education, get a poor paying job, which results in living in a poor neighborhood..."

In addition to being subjected to capitalism, racism, and sexism, women are also the chief victims of the all-pervasive religious and social pressures of the "Bible-Belt". Repressive Southern doctrines are forced upon most women in the impoverished Black Community through ministers, teachers, and others that subscribe to the oppressors "religion" as a means of making woman "content" with the bitter misery of their lives.

If there was hope of a better life in some other place, and if the only way to reach it and end the "poor butchered half-lives" was through death, women as well as men, Black as well as white, would be committing wholesale suicide...

Contrary to what TIME (June 17, 74) says, the majority of our Black people, and particularly Black Women, are not "middle class". Rather they are either unemployed, or underemployed. Those few who have "made it" are the exception rather than the rule.

2. ANALYSIS

What then is the role of Black Women in the Black Liberation Struggle? It is our belief that the role of the Black Woman is the same as everyone else's in the struggle; to educate, organize, mobilize, and fight to the best of her ability. The word "revolutionary" has no gender. It is neutral. A revolutionary can be either male or female.

How can Black Women fulfill their role in the struggle? Black Women hold within their hands the key to a lot of things that are happening and will continue to happen to Black People, because Black Women have a lot of pull behind the scenes in the Black Community. Once Black Women decide to resist oppression and to fight back, they are among the most militant and courageous fighters.

"The degree of progress can never be separated from the Women. If you're in a country that's progressive, it's because the women are progressive; if you're in a country that reflects a consciousness towards the importance of education, it's because the women are aware of the importance of education. But in every backward country you'll find the women are backward; in every country where education is not stressed, it's because the women don't have education. So one thing I became thoroughly convinced of in my recent travels is the importance of giving freedom to the women, giving her education, and giving her the incentive to get out there and put that same spirit and understanding in the children. I frankly am proud of the contribution our women have made in the struggle for freedom, and I'm one for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men. One of the best ways that they can help is to encourage the man: Try to inspire him to be more militant and turn him away from being non-violent and passive and meek and uncle-tomish. Make him aware that the Black Woman wants to see her man be a man instead of around here using religion as an excuse to be a coward and some of the things he's been reflecting here lately (gangsterism without a weapon)."

---MALCOLM X



"If you're in a country that's progressive, it's because the women are progressive."

--- Malcolm X

3. SOLUTION

Women - Black Women - are crucial to the total liberation of Black people. Whereas a man lives from day-to-day, a woman lives from generation-to-generation. When the Black woman today sees her children forced to grow up in such a vicious society, it is difficult to keep her out of the revolution. She wants to see her children free, even if she has to perish in the struggle. In her own determination to be free she has said: "We will fight from one generation to the next." This in itself is an admission of a protracted (continuous) struggle.

AS A BLACK MOTHER:

The sisters hold the reins of the generations to come in their role as the Black Mother. She has the power to instill in the minds and souls of the Black youth Black Awareness, Black Pride, non-compliance, and revolution.

AS THE BLACK WIFE, OR OTHER HALF:

The Black Woman historically has been a strong, enduring, selfless, proud and ingenious person. Sojourner Truth, with her proclamation: "I am a woman", and Harriet Tubman, who was a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad are shining examples of the Black Woman's ability and will to struggle. The Black Woman virtually enabled the Black People in Amerikkka to survive up to this present day, through acting in the role of breadwinner and manhood builder. Today the Black Woman can use these traits to instill in her man the will to struggle, to let him know that he is a man and he can win in armed struggle against the oppressor because she'll be right there struggling by his side.

AS THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY:

As we stated earlier, the term revolutionary has no gender. The Black Woman Revolutionary is a revolutionary in every sense of the word, from organizing in the streets, to ambushing the pigs on the move, to planting bombs in discrete places. As ELMER GERONIMO PRATT stated

This poem is dedicated to:
Lolita Lebron - Puerto Rican
Nationalist Political Prisoner;
and all Women Political Prisoners.

REBEL SISTER

How small the world, so large in
your thought.
Struggle is the pressing order of
the day - how well you know!
How foolish the man who takes the
stand alone,
he saw your hand reaching out,
yesterday, today, and
he'll see it again, again and again.
That's the way you are you know!
Politically minded you are, yes,
even a soldier you are!
Revolutionary sister, fighting to
undo this wrong
for that which will someday be.
Hey comrade, rebel sister, my dream
is your dream,
our struggle, the fight, the
revolution, it's all for the same.
But not a dream. A new life, a place
in time where
people have love and a full measure
of compassion for each other.
That's our direction!
I, your brother, your comrade, am a
prisoner, like you,
locked behind bars - who rests at
night on a pillow of chicken
feathers, dried tears,

in his "New Urban Guerilla", "the enemy is highly vulnerable to the tactics of revolutionary women, thus the woman's role in our struggle is a major weapon that's not only capable of weakening the enemy's strength but also strengthening the alienated minds of the supermasculine menial that's so rampant in the slave quarters." What this says is that revolutionary Black Women have a lot in their corner to work with.

There is a trend existing in the Black Colony called "gangsterism". You see them every day, riding the streets, pushing garbage, but especially, abusing the sisters. If you told them that what they are doing to the Black Sisters, the rent man did to his mother 10 years ago, he'd really act surprised; not at what the oppressor was doing to his mother, but surprised that, in terms of gangsterism, he's a late-comer...

Just for the record, they are probably the only gangsters in the world without weapons. They've copped just about everything but the piece, and those few who do have pieces you can't find when the beast is terrorizing the neighborhood. They've used it on everyone but the oppressor. Everyone is victimized by these gun-toting fools who some how don't seem to be able to distinguish self-defense from self-destruction, for they shoot anything and everything in sight. Many even buy blanks just to shoot in the air... But when vicious murders like in the case of Clifford Glover or Santos Minz, or Ricky Bodden go down, 10 and 11 year old children, it will be up to the Black Woman to militarize and retaliate. Why? Because seldom will the spineless pigs deal on the Colony when the Black revolutionary is around: a sign of the cowardice of the North Amerikkkan enemy agents.

The present war could be titled the War Against Black Children; an assurance that there will be no new generation to fight against the oppressor. We charge all of the oppressors and their sniveling, bootlicking lackies, mostly white, (some kneegrow) with Genocide in dealing with Black People, and Infanticide where our children are concerned.

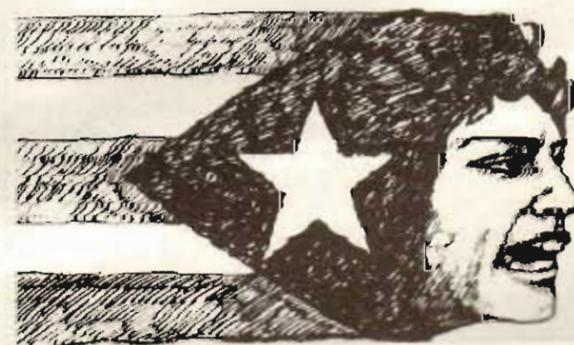
IN CONCLUSION, we recognize Black Womanhood Day to negate the current trend of chauvinism and sexism that has trickled down from the slave-master's house to the slave quarters. We want to recognize our women as part of our struggle, because first of all, women in the world are the majority, and because the majority of the people in the world are non-white peoples. We refuse to allow ourselves to be divided from our mothers, sisters and daughters. Black Womanhood Day recognizes our sisters class struggle; we must liberate the part as a necessary step in liberating the whole.

ALL POWER TO OUR SISTERS!
Va. State Chapter B.P.P.
Norfolk, Va.

JULY 22 --- DAY OF BLACK WOMEN (NFK)

sweat and blood;
with short lived thoughts of
yesterday and the day before,
and more.
I believe in you, you are my complement,
you my rebel sister
political prisoner as I.
The system that works against you,
hurt you, abused you, misused
you, has only made you stronger.
The system that posed your brother
against you.
Yesterday is no more!
Behind the bars of the jails, prisons,
reformatories; concentration camps,
and, the years of being a
prisoner
how beautiful you are!

Victor Gerardo Bono
US Pen., Atlanta.



CLASS STRUGGLE!

LABOR LAW EXPOSED



graphic by Ies

THE GREAT COVER-UP: THE WAGNER ACT

Although hailed by liberal trade unionists as "labor's bill of rights," the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (the Wagner-Connelly Act), enacted to replace the defunct NRA (and incorporating its section on workers' rights), was another desperate attempt to stop the increasingly violent conflict of labor and capital. The "progressive" gains of this act were to be wiped out by succeeding laws. The much-heralded Section 7 of the Wagner Act, however, gave workers the right to join, form and assist the formation of labor unions, the right to bargain collectively and the right to engage in "concerted action."

Between 1934 and 1936, 88 workers died in strikes and over 18,000 were arrested in struggles for elementary union recognition, despite the NRA and this new "labor's bill of rights."

During this period, workers learned not to rely on paper rights but to win them in struggle, and began great organizing drives for unions in steel, textiles, glass, rubber and electricity. The most dedicated organizers were communists who infused the workers' struggles with new militancy and developed with the workers new tactics, including the mass picket, women's auxiliaries, the sit-down strike, and the flying squads.

Although the number of organized workers doubled from 1930 to 1940, it was because of the valiant struggle of the working class, not because of legal sanctions by the NRA or its successor, the Wagner Act.

TAFT-HARTLEY: UGLY THRUST OF FASCISM
The Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (the Taft-Hartley Act) forms the main basis of present national labor policies.

To workers, as John Lewis (first United Mine Workers head) put it, it was "the first ugly, savage thrust of fascism in America." Taft-Hartley was enacted amidst a post-war strike wave involving 4.6 million workers.

TIGHTER REGULATION
The final major law passed, the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, established tighter federal regulation of the internal functioning of trade unions, which by this time had succumbed completely to business-unionism and could not or would not oppose its passage effectively. The LMRDA requires unions to file annual financial reports with the US Department of Labor. It functions to enforce the performance of collective bargaining agreements by removing the last vestiges of trade union indepen-

dence of the "neutral" government.

The LMRDA legally sealed the gradual conversion of trade unions from worker organizations to business agencies that functioned as wage-fixing institutions under firm government regulation in a totally-controlled legal system designed to preserve the power of the capitalist class.

CONTAINMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The degeneration of many once-militant unions has gone hand in hand with the general strategy of the bosses to contain, channel, and cover up class struggle by legal means where possible. Laws establishing the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively prescribed the legal procedures by which this was to be accomplished. The major means adopted to preserve "labor peace" and the power of the capitalist class is the system of collective bargaining, mediation and arbitration.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AS PRIVATE DIPLOMACY

The collective bargaining system attempts to reduce class conflict to a contractual business relationship raising the capitalist contract to primacy as the controlling basis for worker-boss conflicts, a system of private diplomacy where the main discussion centers on the price of labor sold to management.

Management decisions that directly affect workers in the shop (things like lay-offs, speed-ups in the line work methods, etc.) are merely subject to be "bargained away," and are often protected by contract clauses as "management prerogatives or rights."

RANK AND FILE RISES

The rank and file has not been content to accept the degeneration of their organizations into business agencies that are mere shells of their past glory. Many US unions are being led nationally by autocratic old men overseeing the degeneration of basic workers organizations into ineffective bartering units alienated from their own rank and file. The growing revolt of workers in the 1960's and 70's against incompetent and reactionary leadership is being amply demonstrated by an increasing number of wildcat strikes and contract rejections. Union meetings and strike votes have increasingly become rank and file forums to denounce and heckle the leadership.

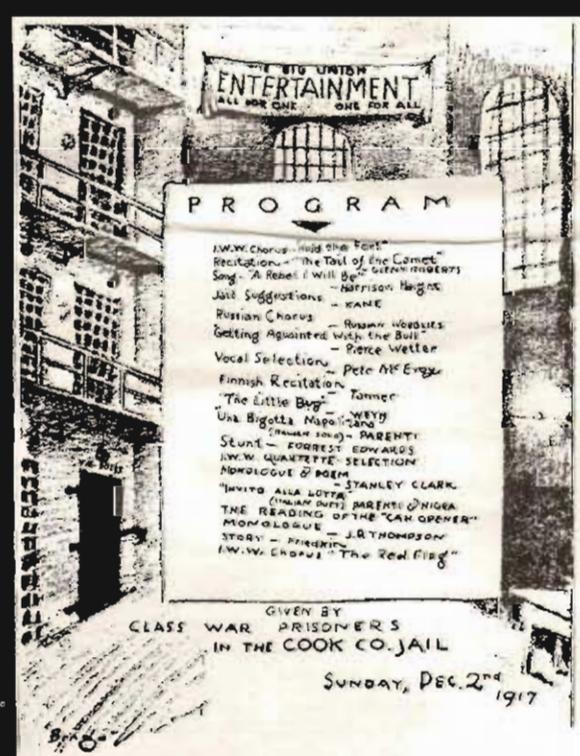
FUTURE OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

That the rank and file workers movement is again on the rise in the US is shown by militant organizing struggles mainly by Third World men and women workers in the West, Southwest, and South, like the United

Farm Workers struggle and the two year strike of the Farah clothing workers. Further, rank and file movements are again becoming active in major industrial unions like the United Steel Workers, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, postal and hospital unions. Active organizing has developed among public employees like teachers and government workers, and increasingly militant strikes are occurring throughout the country.

The bosses have had to resort to outright repression by police and goons to smash workers' struggles, finding that legal means will not channel or cover up the existence of class struggle. But new means of legal repression are in experimental stages--for example, wage controls under Nixon's Phases I-IV (which attempted to dump collective bargaining altogether), no-strike clauses in contracts (which deprive workers of their major weapon), and proposals for compulsory arbitration in more areas.

The lessons of history are twofold: first, that all the tangible gains and rights won by the working class have been the result of militant and determined struggles, often bloody and costly, and not the passage of legislation, and second, that reliance must be placed on the masses of workers themselves to carry out such struggles, and not on "paper rights" extended by labor laws.



IWW AND THE ART OF PROPAGANDA

In this issue of SIEZE THE TIME, focused on propaganda, this work done sixty years ago provides useful lessons. Building a culture of struggle includes techniques exemplified by the black cat (direct action); the wooden shoe (French word "sabots"; when thrown into the capitalists machines the result is "sabotage"); the labor contractor or "shark" -- etc.

The bold use of other forms of propaganda is best exemplified by the Pageant of the Paterson Strike - a reproduction of the original poster is shown here. This pageant, presenting the story of an historic strike, was performed in Madison Square Garden by the strikers themselves as the strike was in process. In prison especially, the revolutionary spirit of the IWW could not be contained, as exemplified by the pencil-drawn program of a cultural presentation put on by the "CLASS WAR PRISONERS IN THE COOK COUNTY JAIL."

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multiclass united struggle for democratic rights against the ruling class in the South. However they did not see the need for maintaining their class independence as Black workers while working within the United Front. Consequently as time went on the organization lost much of its trade union aspects and solely became another organization to wage the struggle for democratic rights. Eventually it elected Frederick Douglass president and Bishop Loguen as vice-president, losing its working class leadership. From then until 1875 most of its work was confined to support of the Republican Party. TO BE CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE
PART II'S FOCUS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN BLACK WORKING CLASS AND ITS STRUGGLE



SOLVING PROBLEMS IN BUILDING ORGANIZATION

A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE: THE CULTURAL WORKER'S FRONT OF OUR AMERICA

The Cultural Workers' Front, like any political organization, has problems arising from two sources. One is political differences, and the other is organizational - what is the correct structure. Organizational problems usually reflect political differences. The major organizational problem of the Frente - whether or not there should be Third World and white caucuses - is basically a political problem.

A Short History of the Frente

To help the reader understand the problems of the Frente, a brief history of the organization follows:

The Frente de Trabajadores de la Cultura de Nuestra America was first organized by participants of the first Latin American Theatre Festival held in Quito Ecuador (1972). The participants believed that theatre, as all cultural work, must rely on a scientific socialist analysis of reality in order to know what to say, how to say it, for whom and at what moment. Faced with the growing cancer of fascism, cultural workers in Latin America have felt an urgency for using all their skills towards advancing mass struggles in Latin America - "Popular theatre ... is all that which, pointing out the principal enemy, involves itself in the revolutionary processes and participates in the class struggle with the ideology of the proletariat and other revolutionary classes aiding in the transformation of society."

These cultural workers from many countries in Latin America found a unity based on the reality that all the Latin American countries have a series of common problems caused by U.S. imperialism. At the same time, they recognized that their cultural work must take into account the particular political situation of each country in order to see what is most necessary for the development of revolutionary struggle.

At the Quinto Festival de los Teatros Chicanos/Primer Encuentro Latino Americano (5th Festival of Chicano Theatres/1st Latin American Encounter) it was decided to expand the Frente to North America so that cultural workers whose objectives matched those of the Frente and who struggle against the common enemy, Yankee imperialism, could be included.

Recognizing Difference While Keeping Strong Ties with Latin America

Because of the significantly different conditions in North America, the Frente here has many aspects which specifically reflect economic, political and social conditions here. In Latin America, repression of cultural workers is much more intense at this time. Much of the Frente's work there has been that of getting cultural workers out of jail and of exposing and denouncing the torture, imprisonments and assassinations which victimize the Latin American people.

In North America we as cultural workers, are confronted with the problems of overcoming centuries of brainwashing and cooptation, and of tying our work to mass movements, mass organization. White cultural workers here are especially faced with the work of building class consciousness and fighting racism amongst the white working class. Third World cultural workers are seeking to advance our national liberation struggles and socialism.

The importance of a North American organization having ties with Latin America has been questioned by some white members of the Frente. But for Latino cultural workers, as for the vast majority of Latinos in North America, there is a deep feeling that this is our America, the America of the oppressed, poor and Third World masses, not the America carved up by imperialism and colonialism.

The importance of having strong organizational ties with Latin America is unquestionable to most Third World people - especially Latinos. True, we must know who we unite with and why, but to dismiss

the task of building communication and exchange of practice with Latin American cultural workers is a serious mistake. A brief look at the history of the Latino people throughout this continent shows the meaning of El Grito, "Un pueblo, una cultura!" (One people, one culture). One example is the strength of the struggle to build unity between campesinos here in the U.S. who are fighting bitterly to build a strong union and Mexicanos who are forced to seek subsistence here, having been denied a survival in Mexico by U.S. imperialism.

The Frente in North America

There has been two conferences of the Frente in the United States. The first was a founding conference held in East Los Angeles October 1974. The second conference was held in San Francisco in February 1975. It was especially important in determining the direction of the Frente. It discussed many questions for cultural workers - what is a cultural worker, why should cultural workers be anti-imperialist, what is a cultural front, and what is the role of culture in struggles for national liberation. The last question was of utmost concern to the Third World participants at the conference. This concern was a major catalyst for the formation of a Third World Caucus at this Frente conference.



The Formation of the Third World Caucus

Third World cultural workers both in leadership of the Frente and at mass meetings decided to depart from the established workshop format and form the Third World caucus. It was not merely a reaction to the racism and politics of white cultural workers starting just with that conference. Third World cultural workers in New York and the west coast had previously brought up doubts about how useful the Frente would be to their primary area of work - political and/or cultural organizations in their own communities, for their national struggles.

They wondered about spending so much time in unstructured mass meetings debating if national struggles held primary or secondary importance in the revolution here and even if they were positive or negative to class struggle. They did not want to spend their time leading and organizing unorganized whites when their own vigorously growing national struggles demand leadership and organization. Third World cultural workers also wanted help on problems in their work that white cultural workers had little understanding of - the role of cultural nationalism, traditional culture, cultural imperialism, class contradictions within a progressive national struggle, revitalizing old cultural forms with revolutionary content, etc.

The creation of a Third World caucus and its continued existence provoked a variety of reactions among whites. One minority view was that Third World people have no right to do anything independently, that there is no such thing as the Third World, that national differences and therefore national struggles are created by the bourgeoisie to divide the working class. Most of these people belong to Progressive Labor Party (PL) or are Trotskyites.

Opposite to this view was another minority view. These whites wholeheartedly supported the Third World caucus as an expression of self-determination and an

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organizational structure to make the Frente more effective in involving larger numbers of Third World people. These whites also supported the formation of a white caucus to deal specifically with combating white racism, studying the white working class in depth, developing cultural work specifically for them and developing white working class leadership among white cultural workers instead of asking Third World people to organize everybody's struggle but their own or merely supporting Third World struggle without building white working class struggles.

The greatest number of whites were uneasy with the formation of a Third World caucus and against the formation of a white caucus. Many were confused about what self-determination is, what national struggles within the US mean, and even what white racism is. Some felt that racism in the US is less important than us all being cultural workers, and by having a separate caucus, TW cultural workers were depriving or rejecting white cultural workers. Others felt that there is no such thing as a white working class - there is just a multi-national working class. They say while TW people can organize separately in national forms of struggle, whites have no basis for any struggle without the presence of TW people and that the multinational struggle of the working class is more important at this time.

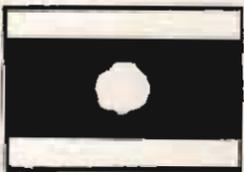
At the same time, some whites felt that the TW caucus as an organizational form limited their participation in decision-making. They felt the existence of the TW caucus should have been voted on by everybody and see it as an anti-"democratic" structure. They saw TW people as a minority against their majority.

National Struggle and Cultural Work

The struggle over the formation of caucuses is a reflection of differences over the role of national struggles and differences over class stand. There are other ways these differences come out but they are focused around this organizational form. The way to resolve these differences is through a hard-headed examination of where the popular masses are materially and mentally, and determining what kind of struggles will best be grasped by them. In cultural work particularly, the people will recognize what is theirs and what is something imposed without regard.

For TW people in the US, national culture had been and is often a form of popular resistance to the domination of US imperialism. Even when TW people were stolen from their own lands, conquered or forced to leave their countries, even when their government, society, economy and language were destroyed or they were separated from them, Third World people managed to hold on to their culture and develop it despite attacks. They did this because culture is something their own people developed before imperialism, it owed its existence to the people instead of imperialism, it was independent in its values and could express the desires of TW people in a way the imperialists could not readily understand.

The white working class also has its own culture distinct from the "culture" found in museums, opera houses and universities. It often has racist and sexist elements. It often has militaristic overtones reflecting the role of white workers in the American empire. On the other hand, some of the country western songs express anger with imperialism and exploitation. White cultural history includes the folk songs of working people like Joe Hill, the posters and poems of the Wobblies and Big Bill Haywood, the writings of John Reed (10 Days That Shook the World) and many others. Unfortunately today's white workers are estranged from these traditions by two decades of post-war prosperity and Americanism. But white cultural workers can no more use the liberal artsy culture of the upper-middle class (which often is less overtly racist



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